

Miskitu Indian exposes U.S. crimes in Nicaragua

BY MIKE FINLEY

PHILADELPHIA — At a time when armed assaults against Nicaragua by U.S.-trained counterrevolutionary terrorists based in Honduras are rapidly escalating, a Nicaraguan victim of these attacks has come to the United States to give a first-hand account of her experiences.

Dr. Myrna Cunningham, a Miskitu Indian and a regional health director from the war-torn Zelaya Province of Nicaragua, is appealing directly to the American people to stop the U.S. government's war against her country.

Her appearance in Philadelphia on December 11 was part of a two-week tour of East Coast cities to publicize a lawsuit filed in a U.S. federal court last month. The suit charges that the U.S. government has conspired with right-wing Nicaraguan and Cuban exiles to deprive Nicaraguan citizens of their human rights through hundreds of murderous raids across the Honduran border. Cunningham and six other Nicaraguans, along with three U.S. citizens including California Congressman Ronald Dellums, are plaintiffs.

Filed by attorneys from the Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR) and the Na-

Continued on Page 12



Miskitu Indians at Truslaya resettlement camp where they were moved for protection against U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries.

Cordelia Dilg

Sandinistas battle escalating invasion

BY DAVID FRANKEL

Each day brings new reports on the expansion of the war in Central America. Unable to push back the workers and farmers in Nicaragua, or the advance of revolutionary struggles in Guatemala and El Salvador, the U.S. rulers have embarked on an escalating military confrontation.

The tragic results for the peoples of Central America were shown once again on December 9. On that day, 75 children died when the helicopter that was evacuating them from the war zone in northern Nicaragua crashed. Some of the children were only a few months old.

According to the Nicaraguan Defense Ministry, a second helicopter that tried to pick up survivors was driven away by ground fire from counterrevolutionary forces operating along the Honduran border.

A demonstration of 25,000 in the Nicaraguan capital of Managua December 12 put the blame for the disaster squarely on Washington. The counterrevolutionary army that is now operating against Nicaragua with increasing boldness is equipped, trained, and paid by the U.S. government.

The backbone of the counterrevolutionary army is the corps of professional killers who provided the muscle for former Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza. They have escalated their attacks to the point where the Nicaraguan government has been forced to evacuate some 6,000 civilians from areas along the Honduran border.

Captured peasants mutilated

"American Roman Catholic missionaries who frequently visit this border region said the raiders had lately been torturing and mutilating captured peasants or Sandinist sympathizers, creating the same terror as in the past," *New York Times* correspondent Marlies Simons reported December 14.

"On Oct. 28, Ricardo Blandon, a 56-year-old Catholic lay preacher, and his four sons were killed by an exile group in El Jicararo. The killers used machetes to carve the shape of the cross into the chests of two of the victims, and before fleeing they left written messages saying, 'With God, without Communism,' the missionaries said."

The counterrevolutionary forces specialize in such attacks on civilians. But they have met stiff opposition in combat with soldiers. In a major battle at Loma Oscura,

Continued on Page 2

UAW strikers beat back Chrysler

BY JOHN OLMSTED
AND ELIZABETH ZIERS

DETROIT, December 14 — "We were forced to be the first with concessions," a Canadian Chrysler striker said December 10, "and now we're the first to put a stop to this mess."

After three years of taking it on the chin, Canadian and U.S. Chrysler workers have won an important victory in their ongoing battle to win a decent, livable wage.

Canadian United Auto Workers (UAW) members ratified a new contract with Chrysler by 90 percent on December 11 and 12, ending their five-week strike. U.S. Chrysler locals vote December 17. Of the 140 UAW local presidents who met in Dearborn, Michigan, December 11, only three thought their members would not ratify it.

After facing enormous pressure from Chrysler and the U.S. and Canadian governments, along with pressure from the top union leadership, the five-week militant struggle forced Chrysler to grant a wage increase it said it could not afford.

Turning back tide

This victory is a step in turning back the tide of concessions forced on Chrysler workers under pressure from the U.S. government in 1979. The upfront money is their first raise in over two years. The concessions have cost them over a billion dollars in wages.

In September Chrysler offered a 16-cent-an-hour COLA (cost-of-living allowance). "There is no more money," said Chrysler chief negotiator Thomas Miner, after workers rejected this offer by 70 percent.

The new contract provides an extra 75 cents an hour in the United States. Sixty cents of that is "new" money and 15 cents is COLA.

Canadian workers will get a \$1.15-an-hour increase in Canadian money (one Canadian dollar equals \$.81). This is 75 cents an hour plus a 25-cents-an-hour COLA catch-up retroactive to September, and 15-cents-an-hour COLA adjustment this month.

Even with these gains Chrysler workers will be paid about \$2.50 an hour less than their General Motors and Ford counterparts.

The contract is for 13 months, expiring January 14, 1984.

The hated absentee clause from the September offer — which can make it easier to discipline and fire workers — still remains with modifications. Profit-sharing, which most workers viewed as an empty promise, has been eliminated.

U.S. Chrysler workers interviewed by the *Militant* here want to see the entire package before they decide.

'One hand over wallet'

"We got one hand over our wallets," said a worker with 20 years at the Jefferson Avenue Assembly plant. None of the workers think that the 75 cents an hour is enough. But several didn't think they could get more right now.

"We couldn't get more even if we struck like the Canadians," said a worker at the Warren Stamping plant in Detroit, "not with [UAW President Douglas] Fraser."

"It's better than the nothing we were offered before," said one Trenton Engine plant worker.

Dan Winston, a tool-and-die maker at the Warren Stamping plant predicted if the contract is rejected, "it will be because of the absenteeism clause. They will use that to eliminate jobs."

Workers were embittered by the company's lies about not having a penny more to give. "Why didn't they give us this in the first place on September 14?" said one Jefferson Avenue Assembly worker.

This was the first time the UAW bargained separately for workers in Canada and the United States. They were offered identical contracts by Chrysler, and the company insisted on simultaneous settlements all along.

The first blow was struck by U.S. workers, when they rejected the initial company proposal by 70 percent in October. That contract was seen by workers, who lagged \$2.68 an hour behind their Ford and GM brothers and sisters, as a slap in the face.

"We want back the money we loaned them," was the sentiment of many.

U.S. workers subsequently voted to extend the contract, thereby postponing a strike until January.

But the Chrysler workers in Canada were suffering even greater financial hardship due to the higher cost of living in Canada. Hundreds had lost their homes. The workers were facing a greater prospect of bankruptcy than Chrysler, in their eyes.

Chrysler was faced with a war on two fronts. It tried in vain to split U.S. workers away from Canadian workers. Canadians were labelled as greedy and irresponsible, capable of causing Americans to lose everything.

The strikers received strong support, however, from the moment they walked out of the plants. Workers in all the Canadian Ford locals raised their dues to help the strikers. Farmers brought food, and Windsor merchants delivered candy and thousands of toys for a Christmas party for the strikers' children.

Teams from UAW Local 444 went door to door in Windsor, collecting donations

Continued on Page 12

Big victory for political rights in Supreme Court ruling on SWP

In a major victory for the rights of working people, the Supreme Court ruled that the Socialist Workers Party does not have to reveal the names of people who contribute to its election campaigns for public office or people who receive funds from SWP campaign committees.

This important First Amendment victory follows on the heels of a ruling in May by a federal appeals court that the Communist Party not only doesn't have to disclose the names of its campaign contributors, but it

doesn't even have to keep records of those contributors.

These decisions are important ones, with nationwide ramifications. They set a precedent for nondisclosure that can be utilized all around the country. They deal a body blow to campaign disclosure laws, which are a major legal obstacle in the road of working-class political action independent of the Democrats and Republicans.

Under these laws, all candidates are obligated to file lists of contributors with the government. This poses no problem at all for the Democrats and Republicans. The government looks kindly on those who fill their campaign coffers.

Continued on Page 14

EDITORIAL

Sandinistas battle invasion

Continued from front page

a border post 175 miles north of Managua, outnumbered Sandinista troops and militia crushed three separate attempts by counterrevolutionaries to seize a position in Nicaraguan territory over the December 3-5 weekend.

Some 400 counterrevolutionaries were backed up by at least one Honduran unit, which provided covering fire, according to the Sandinista daily *Barricada*.

The size of the attack at Loma Oscura was significantly bigger than the kind that

and its allies are openly preparing the Honduran army for intervention against the Nicaraguan revolution. The imperialists are well aware of the fact that their Somozaist hirelings can only play an auxiliary role in any real fight to topple the Sandinista government.

Just days after President Reagan left the Honduran capital of Tegucigalpa December 4, Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon arrived there. Israel has been a major arms supplier for the dictatorships in Guatemala and El Salvador, and has helped build up the Honduran air force into the most powerful in Central America.

Sharon reportedly worked out a deal to sell new Kfir fighter planes to Honduras. No doubt he also discussed the role of the Israeli advisers who are serving in Honduras and Guatemala, and who are scheduled to be sent to Costa Rica as well.

Sharon, the butcher of Lebanon and the representative of a government that has armed the most brutal dictatorships in Latin America, told reporters at a December 7 news conference in Tegucigalpa: "I admire Honduras very much simply because it is one of the third world countries that has demonstrated a firm determination to live within a democratic system."

Also posing as committed democrats are the leftovers of the Somoza dictatorship who have formed a counterrevolutionary front in Miami to help finance and coordinate the war against Nicaragua. Heading the "democrats" in the so-called Nicaraguan Democratic Front (FDN) is Enrique

Bermúdez, a former colonel in Somoza's National Guard.

Reagan's drive toward fullscale war in Central America has finally forced a public debate within the U.S. ruling class. As the editors of the *New York Times* pointed out December 8, "There's nothing secret anymore about the training of exile armies in Florida and the recurrent border raids into Nicaragua by insurgents claiming C.I.A. help; all this has been widely reported for months."

There is, of course, complete unanimity among the U.S. rulers on the threat posed to them by the revolutionary upsurge in Central America. They know that the masses of workers and peasants who have taken political power in Nicaragua are inspiring working people throughout the region to fight against imperialist domination and class exploitation. The extension of the socialist revolution in the Western Hemisphere is a challenge that U.S. imperialism cannot ignore.

Fears within ruling class

At the same time, the escalation of the war in Central America means that the imperialists also have more to lose. Any war between Honduras and Nicaragua would rapidly destabilize the Honduran regime and draw in El Salvador as well. Nor could Guatemala and Costa Rica remain apart.

Moreover, any such war would be sure to involve both Cuba and the United States directly.

It is hardly surprising that there is hesitation among significant sectors of the U.S. ruling class over the prospect of such a regional war, particularly in light of the opposition among working people within the United States itself to such a counterrevolutionary war.

Thus, the editors of the *Christian Science Monitor* warned December 7 that Reagan "would be better advised not to pursue . . . military aid for Guatemala."

Complaining that the CIA-organized warfare against Nicaragua is liable "to misfire," the *Times* editors singled out the problem represented by public opinion in the United States and throughout Latin America.

"A final justification for covert warfare might be a clear showing that truly vital American interests are at risk, and beyond the reach of diplomacy. No such showing has been made, either to the American people or to our Latin friends," the editorial said.

But despite such hand-wringing and complaints, the escalation is proceeding apace. And while the liberals are seeking to avoid any responsibility for Reagan's policy and warning against its perils, they are also collaborating in carrying it out.

A good example of the way in which the rulers are moving forward in their course of



President Reagan and Honduran President Roberto Suazo Córdova.

confrontation with the revolutions in Central America, while twisting and turning within the constraints imposed by working-class sentiment, was the December 8 vote in the House of Representatives on Nicaragua. By a vote of 441 to 0, the House voted an amendment to the military spending bill that would prohibit the government from giving weapons or training to counterrevolutionary forces "for the purpose of overthrowing the Government of Nicaragua."

A substitute motion that would have flatly banned aid to any groups "carrying out military activities in or against Nicaragua" was rejected.

Since Reagan denies that he is trying to overthrow the Sandinista government, the amendment that was actually passed does nothing to hinder his escalation of the war there. Its sole purpose was to counter the growing concern over the U.S. role in Nicaragua.

Working people in the United States have no stake in fighting to protect Wall Street's profits in Central America and the privileges of the local capitalists there. Having been through Washington's last colonial war in Vietnam, they have no desire to repeat the experience.

The debate that has broken out within the U.S. ruling class presents an opportunity to get out the facts about what is happening in Central America, to explain what is behind the war there, and to expose Washington's lies before broader sections of the working class. The truth is the greatest threat to Washington's war policy.

Field Work Trip Nicaragua

Casa Nicaragua is pleased to announce its field work trip to Nicaragua from January 15-29. For more information call Casa Nicaragua (in evening) (212) 243-2678.

The Militant

Closing news date:
December 15, 1982

Editors: CINDY JAQUITH
DOUG JENNESS

Business Manager:
LEE MARTINDALE

Editorial Staff: Connie Allen, Nelson González, William Gottlieb, Arthur Hughes, Margaret Jayko, George Johnson, Frank Lovell, Malik Miah, Harry Ring, Larry Seigle.

Published weekly except two weeks in August, the last week of December, and the first week of January by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office, (212) 243-6392; Business Office, (212) 929-3486.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Subscriptions: U.S. \$24.00 a year, outside U.S. \$30.00. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico: \$60.00. Write for airmail rates to all other countries.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

U.S.-backed war kills 75 children

BY JANE ROLAND
AND MARK SCHNEIDER

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The news of the December 9 helicopter crash and the death of 75 Nicaraguan children was announced here six hours later by Father Ernesto Cardenal, the Minister of Culture. The children were being evacuated from an area under attack by U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries.

Cardenal, flanked by leaders of the government and Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), made the announcement at what had started out as a festive occasion, the opening of the Managua Museum of Latin American Art in Solidarity with Nicaragua. It was also the closing event of the first meeting of the National Committees of Intellectuals for the Sovereignty of the Peoples of Our America.

Five hundred artists, writers, intellectuals, and other cultural figures from Latin America and the Caribbean, as well as workers and students, gathered at the Ruben Darío People's Theatre in Managua.

It was presided over by Coordinator of the Junta of National Reconstruction Da-

niel Ortega; Commander of the Revolution Tomás Borge; junta member Sergio Ramírez; and Commander Omar Cabezas. Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto also attended. They stood grim-faced as the news was announced.

The crowd, which was standing in a dense semi-circle around the somber leaders, gasped in shock. The festive mood at once dropped away, replaced by grief, outrage, and determination.

As Cardenal explained while we all listened intently, whatever the incidental military facts prove to be, all the children would be alive if not for the Honduras-based aggression of the U.S. government. The Nicaraguans have been trying to evacuate people to safety from border areas subject to the most intense fighting.

"This is the product of the visit of Reagan to Honduras, of the visit of the genocidal Israeli Ariel Sharon to Honduras," Cardenal declared. "We must remember that the death of 75 Nicaraguan children would be the equivalent of 15,000 American children killed."

Read the truth — every week



Subscribe to the Militant

That way you'll get facts about Washington's bipartisan wars against working people at home and abroad: from unemployment to racism; from Lebanon to Central America. Read our proposals for how to fight back against the employers and how to replace their system of exploitation and oppression with a system that's in the interests of working people.

At the workplace, unemployment lines, and picket lines, the *Militant* is there, reporting the news and participating in the struggle. Subscribe today.

For new subscribers . . .

A special offer — *Mel Mason: The making of a revolutionary*. A new 40-page pamphlet. Free to every new subscriber. To get a copy, check box ☐

- ☐ Enclosed is \$3 for 12 weeks ☐ Enclosed is \$15 for 6 months
☐ Enclosed is \$24 for 1 year ☐ Enclosed is a contribution

Name

Address

City/State/Zip

Telephone Union/Organization

Send to Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014

South Africa murders refugees in Lesotho

BY ERNEST HARSCH

Dozens of unarmed refugees were murdered in cold blood December 9 in Maseru, the capital of Lesotho, in an unprovoked attack by South African commando units.

The white minority regime in Pretoria claimed that the attack into Lesotho — an independent country that is totally surrounded by South Africa — was directed against "trained terrorists" of the African National Congress (ANC). The ANC, South Africa's main national liberation

movement, is fighting to overthrow the racist system of apartheid that oppresses that country's Black majority.

In a statement issued in Lusaka, Zambia, the ANC called Pretoria's charges "utterly false." The killings, it said, amounted to a "cold-blooded massacre." The ANC vowed to continue its fight against white minority rule.

Numerous witnesses, residents of Maseru, and Lesotho government officials also stressed that those who had been killed

were refugees, mostly young Blacks who had fled South Africa after the crushing of the massive 1976 urban rebellions.

"These people were genuine refugees," said Vincent Makhele, Lesotho's minister of rural development and the secretary-general of the country's ruling party. "We allow them in on condition they do not launch any attacks from our territory, and to our knowledge they have kept to these conditions."

The real "trained terrorists" were the South African commandos themselves.

Some 100 of them were flown into Maseru at 1:00 a.m. As people slept, the South Africans attacked 12 different sites in the city. They used bazookas, machine guns, grenades, and incendiary bombs to blast open doors, demolish apartments, and kill everyone found inside. Most of the apartments and buildings that were hit housed refugees.

Clearly acting on outdated information, the commandos attacked one apartment that had formerly been occupied by a leading ANC member, Chris Hani, who left Lesotho several months ago. The current tenant, a Lesotho citizen, was killed instead.

After five hours, the butchers were picked up by helicopter and flown back to South Africa.

As of December 10, the Lesotho authorities had recovered 42 bodies, 12 of

whom were citizens of Lesotho. A number of South African refugees and Lesotho citizens were still missing.

Although white-run newspapers in South Africa refused to condemn the attack, the Black-edited *Sowetan*, a daily newspaper sold in Soweto and other Black townships around Johannesburg, expressed its "total abhorrence" for the "indefensible" action. Many Soweto families were in mourning, since most of those killed in Maseru originally came from Soweto.

Pretoria's attack into Lesotho was also condemned by many governments around the world.

Among them was Washington. But it has been the Reagan administration's increasingly close ties with the apartheid regime over the past two years that has done much to encourage the South African racists to carry out such terrorist attacks against neighboring countries. This has included increased U.S. economic ties with South Africa, frequent meetings with South African officials, the posting of U.S. military attaches in South Africa, and the repeated use of Washington's veto powers in the United Nations Security Council to block the adoption of economic sanctions against the apartheid regime.

Just a few weeks before the Lesotho attack, U.S. Vice-president George Bush toured several African countries to press the Reagan administration's demand that Cuban troops be pulled out of Angola before Namibia could be granted its independence from South African rule — a demand that seeks to justify Pretoria's continued war against the Namibian people.

And just one day before the Maseru attack, the official South African state radio broadcast a commentary that spoke about a "joint commitment" with the Reagan administration to "a Monroe doctrine for the region" that recognized Pretoria's "special responsibility" for maintaining stability in southern Africa — in the same way, it said, that Washington sought to maintain stability in Central America.

Thus, the blood of the victims of Maseru is as much on Washington's hands as it is on Pretoria's.



Nicaraguans ask U.S. women for solidarity

BY BARBARA BOWMAN

NEW YORK — Magda Enríquez of the National Executive Board of the Association of Nicaraguan Women — Luisa Amanda Espinoza (AMNLAE) addressed 75 people here on December 4, at a meeting co-sponsored by Casa Nicaragua and AMNLAE.

The title of the meeting was "Women Working for Peace and Working Against Intervention in Nicaragua and Central America."

AMNLAE is the 30,000-member organization of women in Nicaragua.

Enríquez gave an inspiring picture of a revolution fighting for its life against U.S.-backed counterinsurgency, slander, and economic blockade and at the same time making historic efforts to uplift the condition of women.

Enríquez explained that the Nicaraguan revolution, which threw out the U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship in July 1979, has given women their first opportunity to

solve the problems of discrimination and win equality. She credited the role women had played in the insurrection for laying the basis for the role they now take in public life.

She listed some of the concrete steps forward by women in Nicaragua. Women are members of Nicaragua's Council of State, the country's legislative body. AMNLAE, along with other mass organizations, has a representative on the Council.

The introduction of a new family law in the Council, to replace the discriminatory laws inherited from the Somoza era, has opened an intense national discussion and debate on the oppression and liberation of women.

Women have become students in such nontraditional fields as engineering and medicine. Affirmative action is encouraged and Nicaragua now has its first female electrician. Women formed 60 percent of the literacy army, which has reduced illiteracy from 59 percent to 12 percent.

Emphasis on preventative health care has led the government to institute a training program for midwives. A nutrition improvement campaign includes encouraging housewives to plant vegetable gardens, "not to teach women to be better housewives, but to get women linked to production."

Enríquez called the question of defending the revolution one of "life or death" for Nicaragua and unequivocally defended the right of women to take up arms. "Women have the right to defend the country. We went to war so we could conquer peace. . . . We have conquered so much in three years. No one will take it away."

Enríquez talked about political initiatives Nicaraguan women have taken, including an international conference of women held in Managua in March. She concluded by urging U.S. women to join in defense of the Nicaraguan revolution by forming a section of the InterContinental Women's Coalition Against Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

Rev. Majorie Tuite, member of the coordinating committee of the coalition and president of the National Association of Religious Women, reported on the first coordinating committee meeting held in Mexico in August. She invited the National Organization for Women, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, and all other women's organizations to send representatives to an initial meeting to begin the process in the United States of building a united front against intervention. The meeting will be held on January 13, at 2 p.m., 475 Riverside Drive, 8th floor.

The meeting also heard Dr. Myrna Cunningham, a victim of rape and torture at the hands of U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries in Nicaragua. She is one of many plaintiffs suing the U.S. government for depriving Nicaraguan citizens of their basic rights. Greetings were also received from Women for Racial and Economic Equality (WREE), Women's Strike for Peace, and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

YSA convention to feature Salvador solidarity rally

BY PETER THIERJUNG

A major public rally in solidarity with the people of El Salvador will highlight the December 30-January 2 national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance. The convention will be held in Chicago at the McCormick Inn.

Titled "El Salvador Will Win," the rally will feature representatives of the Salvadoran liberation forces and other speakers. Rafael Cancel Miranda, the Puerto Rican nationalist imprisoned in this country for years, will speak. Gillam Kerley, who has been indicted for refusing to register for the draft and faces a trial next year, will also be on the platform.

The rally, scheduled for the evening of January 1, is one of three public events at the convention.

On December 30, the opening night of the gathering, the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) will host a rally in defense of victims of the government-employer attacks on democratic rights.

The PRDF is currently organizing support and fundraising for a number of major cases. These include defense of unionists working in war industries who have been fired or placed under investigation because of their labor activities and political views. PRDF is also handling the case of YSA leader Héctor Marroquín, a Mexican-born worker seeking asylum in this country like thousands of other immigrants from Latin America.

The rally will also mobilize support for the ongoing fight by the YSA and Socialist Workers Party against increasing government harassment and violations of the constitutional rights of socialists to freedom of political association.

On December 31 SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes will present a public talk on "Their Trotsky and Ours: Revolutionary Continuity Today."

YSA chapters around the country are now in the process of wrapping up activities in preparation for the convention. Based on several weeks of preconvention discussion on the YSA's proposed draft political resolution, chapters are now electing delegates to participate in the discussions at the convention itself.

Jane Harris, a national leader of the YSA, will present a report at the convention on the international political situation. Harris recently returned from Managua, Nicaragua, where she has spent almost a year reporting there for the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. Her report will analyze the growing U.S. war in Central America and the consequences of Washington's attempts to overthrow the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua and Washington's escalating support for the dictatorship in El Salvador.

Andrea González will present a report of the political situation in the United States. Discussion under this report will assess the experiences of the YSA around the country as the resistance by workers to the government-employer offensive has grown. Young socialist workers in the mining, auto, steel, garment and other industries have been part of the growing discussions on how to fight back.

Both the international and U.S. political report will be presented on the first day of the convention. Reports and discussion on the fight for Black liberation will occur on Friday, December 31, and on the fight for women's rights on Saturday, January 1. On Saturday delegates will also discuss an organization report, which will outline the tasks of the YSA in the coming year.

In addition to these central reports and discussions, there will be workshops and classes.

For more information on attending the convention, look up the YSA chapter nearest you, listed on page 13.

Just off the press!

Speech by Nicaraguan Commander Tomás Borge

Women and the Nicaraguan Revolution



30 pp., \$.75.
Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., N.Y., N.Y. 10014. Please include \$.75 postage.

Airlines lose 3 sex bias cases

On November 30 a Federal judge ordered Northwest Airlines to pay \$52.5 million to nearly 3,500 female flight attendants in a sex discrimination suit that they won against the airline in 1973.

This is the largest amount ever awarded under the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1963 Equal Rights Act. The airline intends to continue appealing the decision.

The flight attendants, who were discriminated against in a variety of ways, worked for Northwestern from 1967 to 1978.

Michael Gottesman, an attorney for the women, said that in 1967, Northwest paid its pursers (the name the company gives to male flight attendants) \$10,000 per year compared to the women's \$7,500. In addition:

- Men received cleaning allowances for their uniforms, while the women didn't;
- Women had to share hotel rooms during layovers, while men had their own;
- Women were subjected to weight restrictions which were not enforced for men;
- Women were forced to retire

at age 32 or upon marriage;

- Women had to wear contact lenses instead of glasses.

Since payment isn't required until action has been taken on all appeals, these workers will have to wait for the money awarded them while Northwest continues dragging the case out through appeals.

Flight attendants won another victory in Chicago at the end of October. A federal judge ordered Trans World Airlines to rehire more than 300 flight attendants fired before 1970 because they became pregnant. About 250 of the 340 former flight attendants have indicated they want their jobs back. TWA claims that it has no job openings.

All the women lost their jobs under a pre-1970 policy of firing flight attendants, rather than putting them back to work, when their maternity leaves expired.

And in another blow to the discriminatory practices of the airline companies, the Supreme Court recently ruled that Continental Airlines violates the Civil Rights Act by requiring flight attendants — all of whom are women — to comply with strict weight requirements as a condition of employment.

The main argument of Continental was that even if this policy is discriminatory, it is justified because the company claimed it needs "attractive" female cabin attendants to compete with other airlines.

Women win suit for dock jobs

The fight for affirmative action took another step forward in November.

In Los Angeles, a settlement in a class action suit was announced which will eventually result in the hiring of at least 700 women at the Los Angeles-Long Beach port, according to lawyers for the women seeking jobs as longshore workers.

The lawsuit was filed in October 1980 against stevedoring companies and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. Stevedoring companies are responsible for loading and unloading ships on the docks.

The suit charged that the companies and union discriminated against women in registering and hiring new longshore workers and marine clerks. When the suit was

filed, only about six of more than 2,500 registered longshore workers at that port were women, and only one out of about 350 registered marine clerks was a woman.

A. Thomas Hunt, one of the lawyers for the women, said the settlement is the first to provide for hiring and registration goals for women in the longshore industry.

Black porters win back pay

An important victory was struck for rail workers in early December when the federal district court in Wichita, Kansas, ruled that the United Transportation Union (UTU) had to give back pay to 71 Black former train porters. The court ruled that about \$6 million in back wages was due the porters because they were victims of racist discrimination by the union. The UTU's seniority system had kept the Black workers in the lowest-paying jobs.

Joe Vernon Sears of Kansas City, Kansas, filed the first lawsuit 10 years ago. He said he spent years attempting to win a promo-

tion from porter to brakeman.

In 1976 the porters won a settlement against their employer, the Santa Fe Railway Company, for \$120,000.

The UTU refused to modify its seniority system to allow more Blacks to become brakemen and leave the lower-paying jobs. This racist policy of the union leadership gave the porters little choice but to use the federal court, and the civil rights laws won by the massive civil rights struggles of the 1960s, to defend themselves.

The combined racism of the bosses and the union leadership has led many Black workers over the last 20 years to file anti-discrimination suits to defend affirmative action and protect their rights.

The victory by the porters is a victory for all rail workers. It makes it more possible for the union membership to stand united against the stepped-up attacks by the rail bosses in a period of deepening economic recession.

The union has not decided whether to appeal the decision. Hopefully the UTU leadership has learned the lesson that the real enemies of rail workers are not Black porters but the rail bosses.

Key abortion cases before Supreme Court

BY MARGARET JAYKO

The democratic right of women to safe, legal abortions is now under review by the U.S. Supreme Court. Currently before the court are five cases involving local and state restrictions on abortion. The court will rule on the constitutionality of these restrictions in late June or early July.

In 1973 in a landmark decision titled *Roe v. Wade*, the Supreme Court ruled that women have the right to abortion.

On November 30 — 10 years later — the court heard arguments on the five cases it is reviewing, which constitute a challenge to the entire idea that women themselves should be able to decide whether and when to have children. Two of these cases involve the state of Missouri; two involve the city of Akron, Ohio; and one involves the state of Virginia.

Solicitor General Rex Lee appeared before the court, representing the Reagan administration. He argued that the courts should not presume that restrictions on abortion rights are unconstitutional. Lee argued that since state legislatures were elected bodies, and therefore supposedly closer to the will of the people, the court should defer to them on all restrictions they

might place on the right of women to terminate pregnancies.

Lee ignored the well-known fact, confirmed by scores of opinion polls in the last decade, that an overwhelming majority of the American people support the right of women to obtain abortion.

Associate Justice Harry Blackmun, who wrote the original court decision legalizing abortion, expressed the view that despite Lee's statements to the contrary, the Reagan administration was asking the court to overturn that decision.

One of the restrictions the court will rule on is a requirement that abortions in the second three months of pregnancy (called second trimester abortions) be performed only in hospitals. The exchange between the lawyers for the states of Virginia and Missouri and the judges highlighted how discriminatory this ruling is — there is no such hospitalization requirement for any other type of surgery.

With the improved abortion techniques since 1973, second trimester abortions can be safely performed in clinics, which are generally less expensive than hospitals. In addition, since many hospitals refuse to perform abortions, this law, if upheld,

would seriously restrict the availability of abortions for millions of women.

The judges' questions seemed to indicate they were leaning toward a ruling, at least in the Virginia case, that the clinics should apply for licenses as hospitals, thus fulfilling the law.

This is an ominous development. If this is how the court rules, it would set a precedent that the hospitalization requirement is constitutional. And there is no guarantee whatsoever that the Democrats and Republicans who run the state governments would issue such licenses to abortion clinics, even if the clinics are legally eligible.

Another one of the restrictions that the court is being asked to rule on in the Akron case is whether women should have to wait 24 hours after signing an abortion consent form to actually have their abortion. Currently, you sign the form when you go to get the abortion.

The foes of abortion told the court that this, like the other restrictions they were supporting, were not designed to impede a woman's right to abortion, but were instead "choice enhancing."

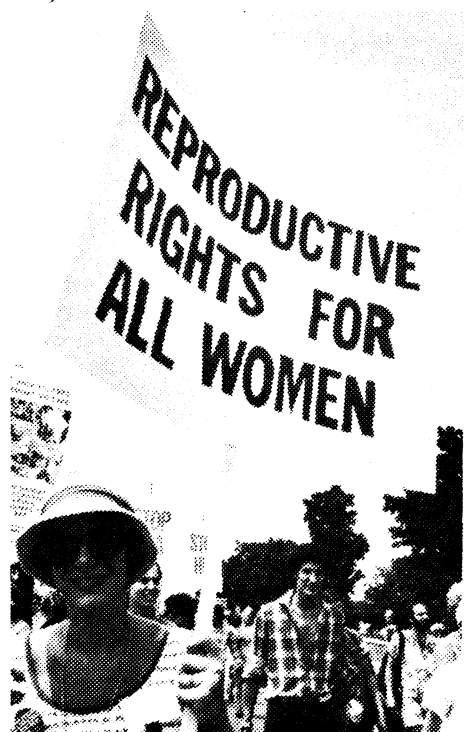
This lie was exposed by the proponents of abortion rights. They explained that the city of Akron is one of only a few cities in Ohio in which abortions are performed, and many women have to travel hundreds of miles to have their abortions.

Thus, the 24-hour waiting period would mean either two trips, or a prolonged stay in Akron, something that would prevent many women from having their abortions, or at least make it a lot more difficult. This restriction, like all the others, is particularly burdensome for the poorest women and for working women. It also has a racist side. Black women and Latinas often have the least access to medical care in general, and are thus among the primary victims of restrictions on abortion rights.

Another law under review requires that women seeking abortions be told a large amount of "misinformation," as one lawyer put it, designed to terrorize and guilt-bait women into not going through with their abortions. Doctors would be forced to tell women things such as abortions "can result in severe emotional disturbances" and that the fetus "is a human life from the moment of conception."

Stephan Landsman, attorney for the Akron Center for Reproductive Health, explained that this provision "turns the physician into an adversary rather than an adviser."

Frank Susman, representing the Planned Parenthood Association of Kansas City, told the court, "The real purpose of all these statutes is to thwart" abortion rights.



Militant/Lou Howort
Abortion rights march in Cherry Hill, New Jersey, last July.

Women speak on fight for affirmative action

BY CARLA RIEHLE

NEW YORK — In the midst of the current drive to push back the gains that women, Blacks, and Latinas have been able to make in the last two decades, it might be possible to conclude that affirmative action is a dead issue.

But at a Militant Forum held here November 12, a panel of four women workers spoke about important victories that are being won in the fight to get women and minorities into job categories that they have been traditionally excluded from.

Jane Kelly, a representative of Women in the Trades (WIT), described how her group, formed in 1976, has helped to get women "nontraditional" jobs, particularly in the construction industry in New York City. She pointed out that both racism and sexism have historically run deep in this industry. Even though the city has had a program for 10 years which supposedly requires affirmative action in businesses with city contracts, the officials that run the program have made only token efforts to break down race and sex barriers.

WIT organizes women to gain the confidence and skills that they need to go after these jobs. It also files lawsuits and pressures officials to fulfill their legal obliga-

tions. As a result, a number of women have been able to break into the construction industry.

Jane Roland is a laid-off shipfitter in Boston and a member of Shipbuilders Union Local 5. She also was the 1982 Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate in Massachusetts. She described the fight to defend affirmative action and dual seniority lists in Boston.

In the course of the struggle for school desegregation in Boston, Black and Latino teachers won a court order instituting dual seniority lists for teachers. The school board cannot reduce the percentage of Black or Latino teachers in the system through layoffs. This order has protected the gains made for affirmative action by Boston teachers during a period of sizable layoffs of city employees.

A victory recently occurred when the U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear an appeal of a lower court decision that such dual seniority lists do not constitute "reverse discrimination." Roland pointed out that the Boston Teachers Union, which initiated the appeal, was really hurting its own members by maintaining its reactionary stand against dual seniority. Recently 1,300 tenured white teachers in the Boston

school system were laid off. The union's opposition to affirmative action weakened its ability to win community support in fighting these layoffs, especially among the Black parents whose children were also being injured by cutbacks in spending for education.

A third member of the panel, Diane Phillips, became one of the first women dockworkers in the New York-New Jersey area in 1979. Through the help of the National Organization for Women (NOW), a number of Blacks, Latinas, and women were hired on the docks through an affirmative action agreement. Phillips pointed out how NOW was able to play a leading role in training women for these jobs, and doing media work and outreach to let women know the jobs existed.

She also pointed out the mutual benefits to the women's movement and the union that came from working together. For example, the women dockworkers were influential in convincing the union to contribute money to several Equal Rights Amendment demonstrations. NOW was able to organize testimony before the Waterfront Commission that led to "permanent status" for many male as well as female workers, thereby strengthening the union as a whole.

Continued on Page 13

SWP leaders see rise in labor fightback

Adopt plan for involving all party members in plant-gate sales

BY HARRY RING

NEW YORK — Members of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee, organizers from branches in dozens of cities, and leaders of the party's work in industry met here in early December. Participants agreed that the deepening capitalist crisis is sparking greater militancy among working people and increased receptivity to socialist ideas. The meeting adopted a major new proposal to organize the party to meet these growing opportunities.

It was decided that all members of the party will participate, on a regular weekly basis, in teams to sell the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* at plant gates and other industrial workplaces.

Highest on the meeting's agenda were the revolutionary struggles in Central America and the Caribbean, and the urgent need to build massive opposition to Washington's drive to crush the liberation forces there.

Important advances in solidarity efforts on behalf of the Central American revolution, particularly in defense of the Salvadoran liberation forces, were reported.

Among solidarity activists there is a new recognition that it is both necessary and possible to begin building an anti-intervention movement based on the U.S. working class.

Increased fightback

Discussion at the five-day leadership gathering focused mainly on the experience of the party since the national committee's previous meeting last August.

During this period of escalated employer offensive, U.S. workers have demonstrated increased determination to fight back and to overcome the obstacles created by a union misleadership that clings doggedly to a policy of collaboration with the employers.

Along with unionists resisting employer giveback demands, the developing fightback has included Black and women workers pressing for affirmative action demands to thwart being driven out of industry in the massive layoffs where, traditionally, they're the "first fired."

In all of this, the working class is emerging as the central rallying force for all those seeking progressive solutions to the devastating ills of this capitalist society.

Highlights of the four-month period included the determined resistance of U.S. and Canadian auto workers to the attack by the Chrysler corporation, the thumping defeat of Sam Church's class-collaborationist machine in the United Mine Workers election, and the resistance by steelworkers to the readiness of their union officialdom to grant industry giveback demands.

For the Socialist Workers Party, the developing combativity was reflected in the response to its election campaigns, the gratifying success of its press circulation drive, and the unprecedented support for its \$250,000 Socialist Publications Fund. The party leadership meeting mapped plans for consolidating and expanding these gains.

Circulation drive

In the eight-week circulation drive, the SWP projected selling 45,000 single issues of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, with an emphasis on selling a maximum number to industrial workers.

The goal was met each of the eight weeks and every branch of the SWP successfully achieved its quota. When the drive was over, the 45,000 copy goal had been exceeded by 10,000 and a significant number of the total had been sold at work sites. The sales of *Perspectiva Mundial* were the highest in its six-year history, confirming that there is more than ample opportunity to further expand its circulation.

Participants in the meeting saw the SWP election campaign, sales, and the Socialist Publications Fund as directly related to the fact that the SWP is increasingly becoming a party of industrial workers.

During the 1960s and 1970s, many of those who joined the SWP were student activists. Industrial workers were a minority in the organization. But four years ago the party decided that its central goal must be

to become an organization composed in its great majority of industrial workers.

Worker majority

Many members got industrial jobs and some of their new co-workers have been won to the party. Today, a majority of the members are industrial workers, but the drive to further that process continues.

The national leadership meeting reflected the deepgoing change in the party. Participants included coal miners who have battled company attacks on safety; steel and auto workers involved in the fight against takebacks; garment workers experiencing the fierce exploitation in that industry; women who have played important roles in the fight for affirmative action; Blacks helping to promote independent working-class political action by working to build the National Black Independent Political Party.

A significant number of SWP members speak Spanish, reflecting the bilingual gains the party has made both through Spanish classes and recruitment of Latino workers.

Party members and supporters have seen the increased ferment among their co-workers and the growing receptivity to socialist ideas. The exchange of experiences confirming this underlined the importance of the decision to continue deepening the process of party members working in industry.

Particular attention was focused on accomplishing this in eight major nationwide industries — steel, auto, rail, garment and textile, electrical, oil refining, and aerospace and related industries organized by the United Auto Workers and International Association of Machinists.

Carrying out this perspective is, of course, made more difficult by the heavy layoffs, in which a good number of SWP and YSA members have been hit.

A central means of maintaining contact with workers in these industries, the meeting stressed, will be the systematic weekly plant-gate and industrial-site sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

This consideration gave added weight to the national committee's decision that such weekly sales be established as a norm of party membership. The proposal to do so was the central point in the political and organizational report by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes.

In approving this proposal, the committee was fully aware that reorganizing to carry it through represents a major challenge for the party. But the committee members were persuaded that the political need and potential returns justified the boldness of the measure.

Branch responsibility

With this decision, party branches will have the responsibility to systematically organize the plant sales so that each and every member can participate in them.

This will give maximum assurance that the ideas of our movement will continue to reach the workers in these key industries on a weekly basis, whether our own members are working there or not.

This will mean that responsibility for carrying through these sales in each city will rest with the entire party branch, not solely the group of members working in a particular plant or industry.

Through such regular sales activity we will be able to continue and develop a political discussion with other workers about our program. This will result in winning a whole new layer of supporters for our movement, and new members as well.

For those party members not currently working in industry, it will mean an invaluable opportunity to meet and talk with those workers who hold the future of this country in their hands.

Moreover, it was projected, party members in particular industries could use their participation in these weekly sales as the opportunity to meet and talk with workers in other industries and thereby get a sense of their thinking and outlook.

The weekly plant-gate sales will be integrated with ongoing sales in working-class communities, at meetings and demonstrations, on campuses, and other



Selling in New York's garment district

Militant/Roberto Kopec

places where our press is normally sold. But the work site sales will give qualitative added strength to the influence of our ideas in the working class.

The leadership meeting was confident that the membership will welcome the idea of making such sales a centerpiece of our work. And equally confident that new worker recruits will be attracted to a party that includes such activity as a norm of membership.

Confidence in the prospects ahead also sparked the record response to the Socialist Publications Fund, which will help ensure financial stability for our publishing efforts.

Statistics offered in a report by Political Committee member Craig Gannon pointed up the key role of the party's industrial workers in the success of the fund.

SWP members are working in many industries throughout the country but there is a continuing effort to develop a significant presence of socialist workers in the eight national industries mentioned above.

SWPers working in these eight industries comprise 28 percent of those contributing to our publications fund. But they are donating 43 percent of the total for the fund.

In striving to sink ever deeper roots among the workers, the SWPers have not limited themselves to activity around the immediate problems they and their co-workers face. One of their top priorities in the past months has been to reach a maximum number of working people with the election platform and activities of SWP candidates.

A report by national campaign director Andrea Morell stated that the party fielded 80 candidates in 28 states and the District of Columbia. The socialist campaign message was beamed directly to working people to the greatest extent yet.

A good number of the candidates were industrial workers.

Many of their co-workers indicated support for their socialist ideas and wider numbers registered opposition to employer efforts to interfere with the rights of these candidates. Eight SWP candidates were fired or subjected to severe harassment. Co-worker protest and union intervention won the reinstatement of those fired and a halt to the harassment.

California campaign

The meeting heard with great interest a report by California SWP leader Thabo Ntweng, evaluating the successful campaign there of Mel Mason for governor. A member of the Seaside, California, city council, Mason is a leader of the SWP and a Far West coordinator for the National

Black Independent Political Party.

Ntweng reported that so far through Mason's campaign the California socialists have won 27 new members.

In Seaside, reported national committee member Sam Manuel, Mason and the SWP campaigned energetically on behalf of two independent Black candidates — Henry Fryson for city council and Shirley Rainer for mayor. Both faced united opposition from the Democratic machine and lost the races, but did win new adherents to the cause of independent Black and working-class political action.

Other agenda points included a Black liberation report by SWP National Cochairperson Malik Miah, and a women's liberation report by Margaret Jayko, a member of the national committee.

Reports on the party's fight against employer-government attacks on democratic rights were presented by Tom Fiske, a plaintiff in a suit by unionists against Lockheed-Georgia; Political Committee member John Studer; and National Cochairperson Mary-Alice Waters.

Recognition that the party's responsibilities go beyond the U.S. borders was apparent in the discussion on building a working-class movement in solidarity with the embattled people of Central America and the Caribbean. This was reported on by SWP Political Committee member Larry Seigle.

New breakthrough

The centrality of the Central American-Caribbean struggle derives from the fact that it represents a new breakthrough in the worldwide battle to shatter the bonds of capitalism. And this is being accomplished in direct confrontation with the United States, the world's mightiest imperialist power.

The Cuban revolution was the first victory for socialism in the western hemisphere. Now it has gained politically powerful new allies with the successful creation of workers and farmers governments in Grenada and Nicaragua.

The prospect of a new workers and farmers government is now a realizable goal in El Salvador. And behind the Salvadorans is the rising revolutionary tide in Guatemala.

U.S. imperialism rightly regards this prospect as a deadly threat to its long, profitable, blood-stained rule in that area, and it has demonstrated its resolve to crush these forces for social progress by any means necessary.

At the same time there is a growing conviction among Salvadorans and other Central American revolutionaries, and those

Continued on Page 12

How steel unionists can counter employer, government offensive

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

(Final in a series)

BALTIMORE — On September 19, 1981, hundreds of thousands of working people filled the streets of Washington, D.C., in one of the largest demonstrations against government policies in U.S. history. International, district, and local union bodies organized thousands of buses, trains, cars, and even planes to bring their members to Solidarity Day. The United Steelworkers of America (USWA) was in the forefront of this effort.

That giant demonstration is ample proof that the labor movement can mobilize with a little bit of effort. When workers saw the unions acting and doing something about the attacks that are coming down upon us there was a tremendous response. Solidarity Day was a militant, confident expression by hundreds of thousands of workers that we do have power and that we should start using it.

What AFL-CIO could do

The AFL-CIO could begin *right now* to tap that same militancy and organize a campaign of marches, rallies, public meetings, and other demonstrations to demand action on the reasonable proposals we discussed last week, including emergency government relief for the jobless, a shorter workweek, and cost-of-living protection for all workers.

This effort could begin today. The USWA, as one of the unions most affected by the economic crisis and under the gun right now to make concessions, could take the lead in getting it off the ground.

It is not only the idea of action that we can take from the experience of Solidarity Day. Just as important is the fundamental idea of solidarity itself. The idea behind the march was that all of the victims of the government's anti-working-class policies should stick together. We need more of this not only in the United States, but all over the world.

As we have discussed in previous articles, the offensive of the employers to protect their profit interests at our expense is worldwide. Today we feel it here in the form of budget cutbacks, takeback contracts, race and sex discrimination, and so on. Our fellow workers in countries like El Salvador and Nicaragua feel it in the form of direct U.S.-sponsored military intervention in their countries.

U.S. workers and war

The war in Central America is already costing the lives of working people of these countries. Working people here are paying for it through our taxes and through the cutbacks in programs that we need. If this war is not stopped, once again, as in Vietnam,

we will be paying for it with the lives of young U.S. workers and farmers.

At the recent USWA convention, presidential aspirant Walter Mondale asked the delegates, "How do you fight a war . . . without a steel industry?" Steelworkers need to reject this idea. We don't want to fight a war against workers in other countries. It is not our interests that are protected by other Vietnams — it is the employers' profit interests.

Whether in "peace" time or wartime we have no common interests with the employers or their government. Our common interests are with other working people. We have more in common with the workers and farmers of El Salvador and Nicaragua than we will ever have with U.S. Steel, Bethlehem, or the rest. Our stand is with the working people abroad, as it is with the working people at home.

A good example of putting this idea into practice is the tour of Salvadoran trade union leader Alejandro Molina Lara. Molina Lara, a leader of the fishing industry workers in El Salvador, has spoken in front of steelworkers', mine workers' and other union locals in West Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. His appeal for international working-class solidarity in the fight against the Salvadoran junta and U.S. intervention has met a good response.

This idea of solidarity is part of the fightback that must be mounted.

Union democracy needed

Once this urgently needed fightback takes shape, certain lessons that many workers are already beginning to draw will stand out even more clearly. One of these is the need for union democracy.

The November meeting of local USWA presidents that ignored USWA President Lloyd McBride's recommendation and voted down the steel industry's takeback proposal drove this home again. If that proposal had not been overturned, steelworkers would have taken a big step on the road backward.

Fortunately the local union presidents felt the pressure from the ranks more acutely than McBride. Although even there we should note that 141 local presidents voted for much deeper concessions than all of them had rejected last July.

The union would be stronger and workers' interests would be more securely safeguarded if the ranks of the union had the right to vote on our contract. This is only one of the key changes that must be made if we are going to restore the USWA to fighting strength.

A bold campaign against employer takebacks and for workers' rights, especially the right to a decent job, means restoring democracy to the union movement at every level. Democratizing the labor movement is not aimed at turning the unions into endless discussion clubs. Nor is it simply a matter of finding better officials. The purpose of union democracy is to insure that the ranks of the union control what the union does.

A living example of a step in the right direction is the change that rank-and-file coal miners made in the United Mine Workers (UMW). The effort began with a genuine struggle on an issue of concern to all miners: health and safety, especially black lung disease. Out of this battle came new leaders who were not afraid to act in workers' interests.

The fight for safety and against black lung led to the formation of Miners for Democracy. This rank-and-file movement accomplished more than overthrowing the corrupt UMW leadership of Tony Boyle and his gang of thugs a decade ago. It succeeded in placing key decisions on union matters in the hands of the union membership. In the UMW workers vote directly on both their officers and their contracts. Union safety committees exert some real control in the mines.

Takeback contract rejected

It is not accidental that the miners have not been forced to accept a wage cut during the current wave of takeback contracts.

When they were offered a contract they didn't like in 1981, they voted it down and closed the mines. The contract they ended up with certainly wasn't perfect, but it looked a lot better than the auto workers' agreement or the deal that McBride and the steel industry cooked up.

The miners have used the democracy they won to get rid of union officers who they considered unable or unwilling to stand up adequately to the bosses. The removal of Sam Church as president of the union in the recent election is fresh evidence that rank-and-file democracy is still alive in the UMW. It is an important example for other unionists of how union democracy is used as a tool to prepare the labor movement for coming battles.

Because the aim of union democracy is precisely to arm the labor movement for struggle, it is a job that can only be done by workers themselves.

At times the government attempts to pose as a supporter of "cleaning up" the unions. Washington sometimes points to thoroughly corrupt leaders such as some of those in the Teamsters to justify government intervention within the labor movement.

Every worker knows that there is a lot of housecleaning to do. Corruption aside, the top leadership of the labor movement is on the wrong political track. But neither problem can be solved by government intervention. The only union democracy worth anything is that which we win for ourselves.

Of course at times workers fighting for union democracy may have to put pressure on the government to enforce the law where it may have a bearing on union elections. One such example occurred in 1973 when Ed Sadlowski was cheated out of an election victory for director of USWA District 31 through massive vote fraud. Supporters of Sadlowski had to pressure the U.S. Labor Department for an investigation. When it was clear a new election would be ordered, Sadlowski's opponent, Sam Evett, consented to one.

It is one thing when a genuine movement for union democracy is compelled to attempt to force the government to enforce the law in workers' interests. It is something else to put any faith in government-inspired efforts to "protect workers' rights."

New political strategy needed

This is connected to the key lesson that must be drawn by those who seek to strengthen the unions. The labor movement needs an entirely new political strategy. The policy of voting for "lesser evils" in the Democratic Party must be rejected. Dressing it up as "Solidarity Day II" — as McBride and other top officials tried to do in the last election — doesn't change the fact that it makes no sense to fight against the employers at contract time, demonstrate against them in the streets, and

then vote for their candidates on election day.

The problems we face are social problems. That is they are problems that confront all workers in society. A good example is unemployment. The wave of layoffs and joblessness is not just the problem of those who are out of work. All of us have friends or family who are unemployed and every worker — employed or not — is affected by the constant threat of more layoffs. Unemployment is a problem that we face as a class.

Another example is "concession bargaining." This is obviously not only a problem facing steelworkers. Millions of workers have already taken cuts in wages and working conditions. Others will face these demands also. Here too we confront a problem as a class.

These attacks on our class cannot be adequately met by shop-floor action or through individual contract struggles alone no matter how militantly they are carried out.

They require political action. We must demand that the government act to guarantee workers' rights. But, the government, whether it is Democrats or Republicans in office, is controlled by the employers.

Intervenes against workers

No matter which party is in control, they both use governmental power to intervene in battles between workers and employers all the time. Almost any strike brings rapid government interference. A recent example is the back-to-work order imposed on the railroad engineers in September. There are many other examples, from Carter's Taft-Hartley injunction against the coal miners in 1978 to court action against hundreds of local strikes.

Try and think of a strike recently where some judge did not intervene within a few days to limit the number of pickets to an ineffectual group. Try and remember when anyone other than workers was arrested and sentenced for cop-provoked picket line violence. USWA Local 8888 at the Newport News, Virginia, shipyard can certainly vouch for that. More than three years have passed but no one who was there has forgotten the "Bloody Monday" police attack on USWA strike headquarters in April 1979.

What can we expect from the capitalist politicians if the companies force us out on strike next August? (Just try and name a "friend of labor" who has spoken out against the steel barons' takeaway demands.) We will get no more support from our "friends" in Congress than the miners have gotten when they've gone out.

Bipartisan opposition to public works

What kind of response can workers expect if we begin to organize seriously to demand a massive public-works program and a shorter workweek? Neither of the two

'Militant' series spurs interest among steelworkers

This series on the steel union has generated a lot of interest among steelworkers.

In the first two weeks that the series was running, three steelworkers in Baltimore sold 24 *Militants* to co-workers, and another 48 were sold at plant gates.

In Gary, USWA Local 1014 member Mitchel Rosenberg, who works at U.S. Steel's Gary Works, reports 42 copies of the *Militant* sold to co-workers interested in the articles on steel. A similar number have been sold to steelworkers in working-class communities.

Those of our readers who have followed this series on the problems facing steelworkers should consider subscribing to the *Militant*. Our special introductory subscription price is just \$3 for 12 weeks.

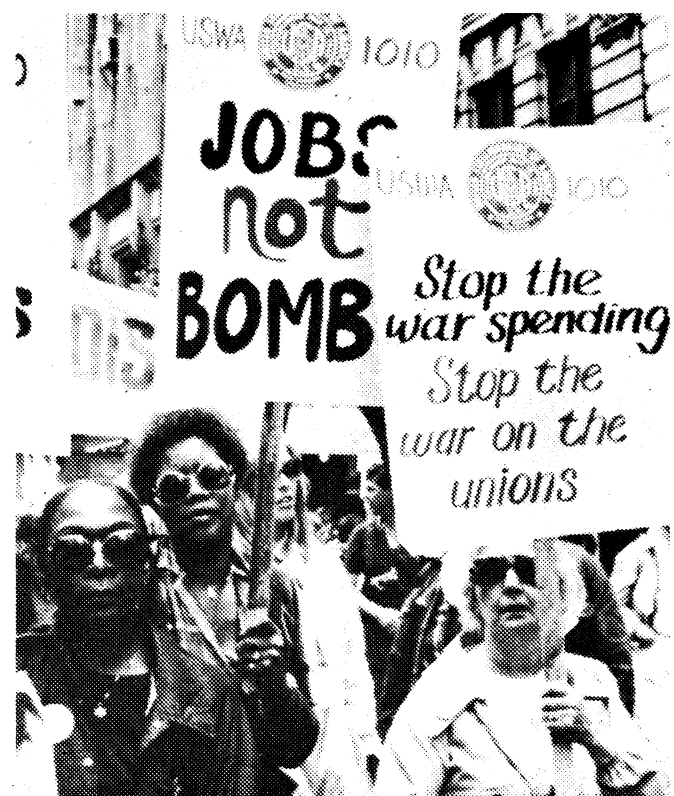


Militant/Jon Hillson

1979 cop attack on striking steelworkers in Newport News, Virginia. Use of cops and courts against Local 8888 highlights need for labor to form own party, to fight for interests of working people.



Militant/Fred Murphy



Militant/Lou Howort

Steelworkers' contingents at Solidarity Day (left) and June 12 N.Y. disarmament march (above). Solidarity with all victims of ruling class offensive — at home and abroad — is key to mounting an effective fightback.

ruling-class parties will support such a program for the same reason that they do not support strikes or oppose concessions. It is not in their class interest to do so.

This is not accidental nor is it the result of a plot by a handful of anti-working-class Reaganites. The Democrats and the Republicans are both parties of the employers and the government is an instrument in the bosses' hands.

The problem with McBride's policy of "lesser-evilism" is not that there aren't lesser evils. There are always lesser evils. On the job some foremen are not as bad as others. That doesn't mean any worker should vote for one for shop steward or union president.

The problem with lesser-evilism in politics is that it postpones indefinitely the step that would provide an effective tool for workers to act in our own interests. That step is the formation of a labor party based on the unions.

Where would we be if we had settled for lesser-evilism in the 1930s and accepted the company unions the employers offered rather than fighting to build the USWA and other big industrial unions? Today we must take a similar political step.

Almost every reform put forward by the labor movement today, no matter how small, is met by harsh employer opposition. Almost all become political questions that pose the need for action by the government. But in the political arena only the employers have representatives. The Democrats who claim to represent workers do not. That is why we need independent labor political action.

Why a labor party

The need for a labor party is tied to another key lesson that will be learned through struggle. No matter how hard or how well the unions fight, there can be no lasting protection from the problems of unemployment, high prices, or the other evils that are built into capitalism.

Wars, racism, sex discrimination, and attacks on workers' rights are all necessary to capitalist rule. Profits cannot be maintained and increased to the employers' satisfaction without these measures.

Even the demands we've discussed here are only *defensive* steps. They are designed to protect us from the effects of the economic crisis and the relentless drive for profits. But they will not eliminate the cause of them.

The heart of the problem is not only that workers should not pay for the crisis. Society must be reorganized in the interests of working people or these crises will only continue and deepen.

A labor party is not only a tool with which to organize a more effective fightback. Ultimately a labor party must fight for political *power* for the working class and our allies.

The capitalist class organizes society in the interests of the minority that owns and controls the banks, the mines, the mills, and the factories. The working class would organize society in the interests of the majority: those who labor and create all the

wealth of this country, whether in industry or on the farm.

Capitalism has exhausted its potential for moving society forward. The wretched contract the steel barons attempted to impose in November is another sign of the choices facing working people. One choice is to begin heading backward towards the conditions of the 1930s and before. The other is the big political fight that is called for if society is to progress.

Workers and farmers government

This is the challenge that would confront a labor party. Society needs to be reorganized from top to bottom. Doing this poses the need to fight to replace the current government. Instead of a minority government of the banks and big business we need a workers and farmers government that would represent the majority.

A workers and farmers government would continue the battle against the employers by using the power of the government to defend human needs not profit needs. It would expropriate the mills, mines, factories, and railroads and put them under the control of workers themselves. It would guarantee a job to every worker. It would make race and sex discrimination illegal.

Working farmers could expect low-interest loans and other aid — not foreclosures and the murderous financial squeeze they get today from the banks and agribusiness.

Perhaps most important, a workers and farmers government could extend the hand of peace, friendship, and solidarity to working people around the world. Such a government would put an end to Vietnam-style wars in El Salvador, Nicaragua or

anywhere. Together we could move forward with workers of other countries towards a rational society that could advance humanity to a higher level.

Bringing a workers and farmers government to power in the United States will require a decisive struggle with the employers and their current government. This struggle will develop out of the fight against the government's wars at home and abroad and the effort to defend the standard of living and rights of American workers that we need to organize today. The more consistently we fight for our class interests against the employers the clearer it will become that it is the working class not the capitalist class that should govern society.

Geoff Mirelowitz is a laid-off steelworker from Bethlehem's Sparrows Point mill near Baltimore. He is a member of USWA Local 2609.

Ontario labor federation recognizes PLO

BY JOAN CAMPANA
AND MARY-ELLEN MARUS

The following article appeared in the December 6 issue of *Socialist Voice*, the English-language newspaper that reflects the views of the Revolutionary Workers League, the Canadian section of the Fourth International.

TORONTO — Delegates to the Ontario Federation of Labor (OFL) convention have adopted a motion recognizing the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and its struggle for an independent homeland for the Palestinian people.

The OFL is the umbrella body for 800,000 unionists in Ontario. Some 1,500 delegates were at the convention, held in Toronto from November 22-25.

The resolution recognizes the PLO as the "legitimate representative of the Palestinian people" and supports "the right of the Palestinian people to a secure and independent homeland."

Speaking in favor of recognizing the PLO, Dave Patterson, director of United Steelworkers of America District 6, equated Israeli attacks on the Palestinians with the United States war against Vietnam. "Five million people do have a right to a homeland," he said.

George Gilks, from Steelworkers Local 1005 in Hamilton, stated that all 37 of the Hamilton local's delegates "supported the cause of self-determination for the Palestinians and we want to express that solidarity."

It was a heated and often confused debate. The motion itself, put together by the convention resolutions committee, had a contradictory character. It also called for recognizing Israel and its "secure borders" based on pre-1967 boundaries, and for the establishment of a United Nations peace-keeping force in Lebanon.

But it was recognition of the PLO and its right to a homeland that was the issue. And it was clear that such support was in tune

with the mood of convention delegates, who adopted the motion by a large majority.

At a Canada-Palestine solidarity meeting of over 200 people in Ottawa November 29, Abdullah Abdullah, chief PLO representative in Canada, called this "a historic decision in [English-speaking] North America — the first of its kind." But, he promised, it won't be the last.

Not everyone was pleased. The Toronto *Globe and Mail*, one of Canada's major dailies, ran an editorial two days later could not contain its extreme displeasure. Attacking the PLO, it called upon the OFL to "recover" its "sense of realism and moderation from the grip of radicals." The resolution, it said, "will not weigh heavily upon the future of the Middle East. Nonetheless, it is a disturbing indication of how some 'progressive' opinion in the West has shifted."

What disturbs the bankers and bosses whose views are reflected in the *Globe and Mail* is hardly the same as what bothers trade unionists.

It is true that the motion reflects shifted opinion. Above all it reflects a greater awareness by working people of the struggle of Palestinian Arabs. Expelled in massive numbers from their lands and homes at the time of and since the establishment of the state of Israel, the five million Palestinians have waged a world-wide campaign for their right to self-determination.

Unlike the Zionist rulers of Israel, who are determined to bring "peace" to the area by driving out and murdering Palestinians, the PLO has proposed that both Palestinians and Jews live together in the area on the basis of equality without discrimination. The struggle of the Palestinians, including their courageous stand against the Israeli war machine in Lebanon, has won them growing respect from workers and oppressed peoples around the world. Today, in a simple recognition of reality, more than 100 states recognize the PLO as

the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

It is this sentiment that delegates to the OFL convention reflected. It's the same sense of solidarity that lay behind a motion passed by the British Columbia Federation of Labor convention held November 15-19. That motion urged "the federal government to condemn the actions of the Begin government of Israel" and to press for a "U.N. negotiated settlement ensuring a home for Palestinian people once and for all."

Contrary to what the *Globe and Mail* hopes, support amongst working people *does* weigh heavily upon the future of the Middle East. That is precisely why the *Globe* is so upset.

There are also some within labor's ranks who did not accept the convention decision. Canadian Labor Congress President Dennis McDermott publicly attacked the motion's recognition of the PLO and says he intends to put the matter before the next CLC executive meeting.

Smack in the middle of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon last July, McDermott issued a statement condemning the PLO as a terrorist organization, a position which puts him squarely behind imperialist support to the Zionist war machine.

According to the November 26 *Globe*, McDermott said, "We have not got to the point where we have recognized the PLO as the legitimate representative of anything. That's where we are at."

McDermott and most of the CLC leadership are lagging behind the vast majority of the world, and they've been left far behind by the delegates to the OFL convention. Like millions of others, Ontario working people have begun to view developments in the Middle East differently. They've helped initiate an important discussion on the area within the labor movement. And their stand recognizing the PLO and supporting an independent Palestine is an important act of internationalist solidarity. They should not let it be reversed.



Salvadoran freedom fighters are part of worldwide discussion on how to fight imperialism.

Which way forward for workers and farmers in El Salvador?

Communist Party leader discusses strategy

BY FRED MURPHY

Ever since the triumph of the Cuban revolution nearly 24 years ago, a rich discussion has unfolded among fighters for social change in Latin America on the strategy, tactics, and class forces required to end imperialist domination of the continent and capitalist exploitation of the workers and peasants.

Since the victories of the Grenadian and Nicaraguan revolutions in 1979, the discussion has been enriched. New lessons are being drawn from those experiences, and fresh light is being cast on the Cuban example.

Some of the themes taken up have been the following: What is the relation between struggles in the countryside and the cities? What is the relative weight of the urban working class and the peasants and other rural toilers? How are the democratic, anti-imperialist, and specifically socialist tasks of the struggle interrelated? What is the place of armed struggle? Of activity in the unions and other mass organizations? Of electoral activity? What kind of class alliances serve to advance the revolutionary struggle, and what kind hold it back or divert it? How can unity be achieved among the various organizations that seek to lead the revolution?

Cuban contribution

The leaders of the Cuban revolution have played the central role in organizing and advancing this discussion. In the past three years, a series of speeches, interviews, and documents have been published in Cuban periodicals such as *Granma Weekly Review*, *Bohemia*, and *Tricontinental*. Cuban Communist Party leaders have taken up the major questions in public speeches and at international conferences.

Other contributions have appeared in the Nicaraguan press and in interviews with revolutionary leaders from a number of countries published in Latin American periodicals.

Some of the central conclusions reached so far in this discussion were summed up in a paper Cuban CP leader Jesús Montané presented to the International Scientific Conference on the Struggle of the Working Class against Imperialism, held in East Berlin in October 1980. This document was published in issue No. 75 of *Tricontinental* magazine (second issue of 1981).

Among the points Montané made were the following:

- "Both Nicaragua and Grenada . . . showed that the only guarantee for the development of a program of anti-imperialist change lies in the destruction of the bourgeois state machinery and the creation of a new, people's army."

- It is wrong to draw artificial distinctions "between armed struggle and other forms of struggle. . . . The revolutionary content of any form of struggle is determined by its goals and by whether it helps move the masses toward or away from their main objective."

- In Latin America, "Class and national struggles are joined . . . with a unique combination of democratic and socialist tasks and of anti-imperialist liberation tasks linked to workers' and farmers' actions against capitalist domination."

Salvadoran CP leadership

These themes have been amplified from an interesting standpoint by Schafik Jorge Handal, general secretary of the Salvadoran Communist Party (CP) and a member of the General Command of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN). Handal's views are presented in a pamphlet that was reprinted in the November 15 issue of *Intercontinental Press*.*

Handal's views are worth noting because they reflect the impact that the new revolutionary upsurge in Central America is having on one of the traditional pro-Moscow CPs of the region. He presents a wide-ranging critique of the ideas and practices of the Communist parties of Latin America.

Handal begins by acknowledging, "In Latin America, two great true revolutions have taken place [in Cuba and Nicaragua], and in neither of these two cases was the Communist Party at the head." The principal factor in the default of the traditional CPs in those countries, in Handal's opinion, was "the practical absence of clear direction of the struggle for power."

As the first key step in any revolution, Handal affirms, "power has to be snatched from the bourgeoisie and the bureaucratic-military apparatus of the bourgeoisie has to be destroyed."

Armed struggle

In the concrete conditions of Latin American societies, this requires armed struggle: "The revolution cannot be accomplished by taking power peacefully at whatever cost; rather, it will be indispensable, one way or another, to dismantle the state machinery of the capitalists and their imperialist masters, to erect a new State and a new Power. In such conditions it becomes evident that the peaceful route is not the path of revolution."

Practical proof of this conclusion, Handal adds, has been provided by "the experience of two triumphant armed revolutions and by the defeat of two attempts to triumph by peaceful means, in the two most democratic countries of the continent: Chile and Uruguay."

Handal says that the erroneous approach that Latin American CPs have long taken

toward this question has much to do with the fact that these parties "have worked for decades with the idea of two revolutions" — first a democratic, anti-imperialist revolution, then, at some vague future date, a socialist revolution.

"We convinced ourselves," Handal says, "that the democratic revolution is not necessarily to be organized and promoted principally by us, but that we could limit ourselves to supporting it." In practice, this meant "leaving the 'progressive,' 'anti-imperialist,' sectors of the middle classes (the intellectuals, the military, etc.) and even of the bourgeoisie, in the forefront."

Moreover, this error also led to "the incorrect characterization of certain social processes and reformist policies in Latin America as 'revolutions.' In practice this characterization was not borne out, but it put the fraternal parties of the different countries in the role of just being a supportive force." Handal cites the cases of bourgeois nationalist governments in Peru, Panama, and Bolivia as examples of this.

What comes out of such conduct, he concludes, "will be the party of reforms, not the party of the revolution."

Electoral work

During the 1960s and 1970s, Handal's party applied this approach to its participation in electoral activity, joining in coalitions behind Christian Democratic and even military candidates for office. The influence of such allies, he says, helped to engender "reformist ideas and illusions in our ranks."

Nonetheless, Handal considers that there were positive aspects to the Salvadoran CP's electoral work:

"The electoral movement brought the majority of the people face to face with fraud and repression, and thus, in practice — not only for us, but for the masses as well — exhausted the possibilities of the 'path' of the elections to democratize and transform the country. . . . In the irreplaceable school of experience, the great masses of people learned to know the true face of the reactionary military dictatorship and its fraudulent electoral games, freeing them of illusions about the electoral 'path,' so that they understood that there was no other road to democracy, social justice and progress in service of the people than the defeat of the dictatorship, daily more

bloody and oppressive, by means of violent revolution."

Crisis for Salvadoran CP

The blatant election fraud perpetrated by the Salvadoran military rulers in February 1977, and the brutal massacre of protesters that accompanied it, marked the point at which masses of Salvadorans did shed many illusions. The time had come for other forms of struggle. But this posed a crisis for the Communist Party, Handal says, because its electoral policy had "kept alive and to a certain extent, reinforced the ideological and political manifestations of reformism in our ranks, beginning with the leadership itself."

Rectifying these weaknesses required breaking through the two-revolution schema described above and recognizing that the Cuban revolution was not a "peculiar exception," as the Salvadoran and other Latin American CPs had long held, but rather "a regular feature of the revolution in Latin America." The revolution maturing in the continent, Handal says, "is the socialist revolution."

Anti-imperialist and socialist revolution

Of course, this revolution does have distinct phases, which are crucial for revolutionists to understand. Handal puts it this way:

"One can't go to socialism except by the democratic anti-imperialist path, but neither can the democratic anti-imperialist revolution be consummated without going on to socialism. . . . If we look into the future, what we have proposed is the democratic anti-imperialist revolution; if we look back after achieving that revolution, a decade later let's say, the democratic anti-imperialist revolution will not look to us like a separate revolution, but rather like the accomplishment of the tasks of the first phase of the socialist revolution."

This key lesson of the Cuban revolution has been summed up as follows in the Cuban Communist Party's "Programmatic Platform," adopted in 1975:

"In conditions of economic and ideological domination by imperialism, measures that do not even go beyond the bourgeois democratic framework are generally rejected by the bourgeoisie of dependent countries. In these countries, the bourgeoisie fears that the development of

Continued on Page 9



Schafik Jorge Handal

Subscribe to Intercontinental Press

As revolution and U.S. intervention in Central America unfold, *Intercontinental Press (IP)* has provided up-to-date coverage of events and background documents such as the full text of Schafik Jorge Handal's pamphlet on revolutionary strategy.

To regularly get information on international revolutionary developments you should subscribe to the biweekly *IP*. \$12.50 for six months; \$24 for one year.

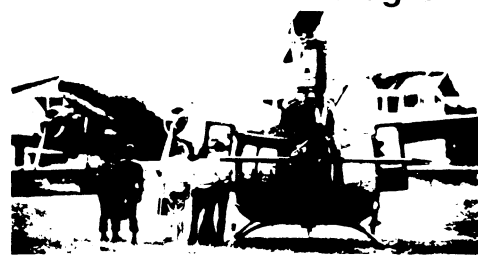
Mail orders to: Intercontinental Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS

inprecor

U.S. Officials Confirm Sandinista Charges

Washington Admits Waging Secret War in Nicaragua



Yassir Arafat's Speech to Fez Conference
FMLN Leader on Revolutionary Strategy in Latin America

Socialists Win Big Victory in Spanish Elections



Reagan pushes aid to Guatemalan dictator

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

The Americas Watch Committee, a New York-based human rights group, issued a report November 23 presenting facts about the right-wing government of Gen. Efraín Ríos Montt of Guatemala. These facts "persuade us," the report states, "that the Guatemalan government has overtly abandoned the rule of law and that it has overtly substituted a system of government that is both despotic and totalitarian."

On that same day U.S. State Department officials announced that, because Ríos Montt has "eliminated human rights abuses," the Reagan administration was considering the sale of military equipment totaling \$3 million.

Amnesty International, in a recent report, documented the murder of 2,600 people since the Ríos Montt dictatorship took over earlier this year.

Meanwhile John Hughes, a State Department spokesman, asserted that "we have . . . been encouraged by steps the Guatemalan government has already taken to address human rights concerns." He was quick to note that these so-called steps were in the context of government efforts to contend with an insurgency movement "supported from outside its borders."

The Americas Watch Committee's report concluded: "Those who are with the government are fed; those who are not with the government are shot. No one is permitted to remain neutral. Those who do not aid the government — by forming civil defense patrols or by providing information on the whereabouts of the guerrillas — may not be allowed to live."

On the State Department side, the evidence officials have presented to back up the alleged human rights improvements in Guatemala were Ríos Montt's work on setting up a timetable for presidential elections and his "vigorous" antiguerrilla campaign in the countryside.

Resumption of U.S. aid

When the Reagan administration announced that it would meet with Ríos Montt during Reagan's December tour of Latin America, the November 29 *New York Times* described this as the "clearest signal to date that Washington is about to normalize relations with Guatemala."

This was confirmed when Reagan told the media after his meeting with Ríos Montt that he thought the United States would resume military aid to Guatemala. Reagan said the general was a sincere democrat who was getting a "bum rap."

Ríos Montt asserted that the Guatemalan army was not pursuing a "scorched earth" policy aimed at civilians. "We have no scorched-earth policy," the general said. "We have a policy of scorched communists."

If these statement and the reports from Amnesty International and Americas Watch Committee weren't sufficient, additional facts have surfaced that give a stark view of the brutality faced by the workers and farmers of Guatemala and of imperialism's role in oppressing them.

Washington has been carefully projecting the image that its decision to resume military and economic aid to the Guatemalan junta is only recent. The truth, however, is that aid has been massively increased since 1981. The big step up began when the Reagan administration successfully bypassed congressional restrictions by reclassifying jeeps and civilian helicopters as "nonmilitary" equipment. This opened the way for millions of dollars of such equipment to be sent to Guatemala.

The administration also recently okayed a \$71 million loan from the Interamerican Development Bank, \$30 million of which

will go to "specialized education" in rural areas and \$18 million toward a rural telephone system.

"Improved communication in zones where the government is committing atrocities . . . is a form of direct military aid," maintained Jerry Patterson, chairman of the House Subcommittee on International Development, in explaining why he would vote to oppose the loan.

'Specialized education'

With respect to the \$30 million for "specialized education," articles by Allan Nairn in the November 17-23 issue of *In These Times* and the October 21 *Washington Post* have revealed the details about this type of "education."

Take the case of Jesse García. He is listed as an English teacher in Guatemala by the Pentagon. However when journalist Allan Nairn interviewed García for an article that appeared in the *Washington Post*, García didn't know about his classification as an English teacher. It turns out Captain García is a Green Beret military advisor. His job, as he describes it, is "not much different" from that of U.S. advisors in neighboring El Salvador.

Far from teaching English, Captain García teaches, among other subjects, the technique of organizing "destruction patrols."

The sending of U.S. military advisors to Guatemala as "teachers" began with the Pentagon's creation of the "language instruction" program in 1977. It was during this time that the Carter administration was trying to cover up Washington's support to repressive dictatorships all over the globe with its "human rights" rhetoric.

As part of this cover, the administration issued a report criticizing human rights violations in Guatemala. Angered by the report, the Lucas García dictatorship then in power refused to accept military aid from Washington.

Hoping to maintain some leverage with the regime, the Pentagon continued sending military advisors to Guatemala under the guise of the Personnel Exchange Program. This program had the added attraction that it did not appear as a specific line item in the military budget and did not require congressional authorization.

'A running joke'

Since then according to an unnamed U.S. official, the classification of the military advisor as a language instructor is a "running joke."

According to Nairn's article, although the United States allegedly is under a congressional ban not to have any military relationship with Guatemala, Captain García is the key counterinsurgency instructor at the Escuela Politecnica. This is the military academy that produces all Guatemalan officers, and serves as the intellectual and political center of gravity for the army that runs Guatemala.

García has been authorized to teach cadets "anything our army has," which includes instruction in ambushes, surveillance, combat arms, artillery, armor, patrolling, demolition, and helicopter assault tactics."

García told Nairn that he is training the Guatemalans in techniques for determining the political sympathy of the peasants. This involves the use of "undercover agents to go there and see how they act . . . whether they are actually progovernment or antigovernment." If civilians were collaborating (with the guerrillas) and other innocent people were getting killed. . . . I would try them and find . . . that they were guilty before they would be shot — summarily shot."

'Can't kill them all'

Admitting that the number of civilian guerrilla supporters may be as high as 40,000, García points out, "You can't really kill them all. You're going to have to change things eventually to where things die off. . . ."

García predicted that the Green Berets would be fighting in Guatemala for one to two years. He estimated that two combat battalions totaling 1,000 men would be needed for a two-year stay and that 50,000



General Efraín Ríos Montt. Since he's taken over in Guatemala, 2,600 people have been murdered.

Guatemalans would die — this would do the job.

The overwhelming majority of the civilians being killed in Guatemala are Indians, who make up more than half of the population of Guatemala. This has intensified as a result of the racist, Ríos Montt-evangelical-style, anti-Indian indoctrination of Guatemalan military cadets.

As a result of the fierce repression being leveled against them by the U.S.-backed Ríos Montt dictatorship, the Indian population has begun to organize itself politically and has given its overwhelming support to the four political-military organizations of the Guatemalan rebel fighters united in the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union.

Rigoberta Menchú Tum, a representative of the Guatemalan Committee of Patriotic Unity (CGUP) and José Efraín Rosales Marroquín, a member of the Committee for Peasant Unity, are two Quiché Indians, both currently on tour in the United States sponsored by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala.

Menchú Tum has not only traveled to five states in this country but has been to 13 European countries in tours organized by solidarity committees in those countries. Her purpose is to explain the plight of the Guatemalan people and to ask for political solidarity.

Lift news blackout

At a news conference in November at United Nations Plaza, Rosales Marroquín and Menchú Tum urged the media present,

which included ABC, NBC, *Le Monde*, and others, to lift the news blackout of the carnage being carried out against the Guatemalan people.

Menchú Tum reported on the Guatemalan army's use of "strategic hamlets" learned from U.S. advisors. With this approach thousands of peasants are rounded up by the army and forced to live in constant fear under the watchful eyes of troops. The objective is to isolate the people from the armed rebel forces.

She reported that one counterinsurgency technique was to employ U.S. representatives of the Church of the Divine Word, the Christian sect that the dictator Ríos Montt belongs to, and fly them into peasant villages by military helicopter, backed by armed soldiers, to distribute stacks of Bibles. The peasants are forced to accept them at gun point.

She also spoke of the plight of the tens of thousands of Guatemalan refugees, mostly women and children, especially those near the Mexico-Guatemala border, who are being massacred by the Guatemalan army.

Through Menchú Tum's tour and others, the CGUP has gone on a worldwide political offensive to lift the political blackout imposed by Washington in collaboration with the Ríos Montt dictatorship. They are making its representatives available to speak out about the situation in Guatemala.

For more information about this campaign contact: Committee in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala, 19 W. 21 St., 2nd floor, New York, N.Y. 10010, (212) 242-3342.

Salvador leader discusses strategy

Continued from Page 8

the revolutionary process will inevitably lead to socialism.

"This situation, in which the objectives of national liberation and of a democratic nature had to be implemented by the working class at the head of the State power, conditioned by the close interrelationship between the measures and tasks of the first and the second stages of our Revolution and the uninterrupted character of the transformations leading to the transition from one stage to the other in the context of a single revolutionary process."

Lenin's strategy

Besides grasping the lessons of Cuba, revolutionists must also study the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the strategic course of Lenin and the Bolsheviks, Handal says. "We have to go back to the Leninist teachings again and again; the whole question addressed by Lenin in the theses of April 1917 was on the seizing of power by the revolutionary proletariat and its party, and on clarifying and unifying the great masses of peasants and the people generally with respect to these forces in order to complete this task."

Through a process of "tremendous analysis and self-criticism," Handal says, the Salvadoran CP succeeded in assimilating a Leninist political approach. The way

was thus cleared for reorganizing the party to enable it to play a role in leading the armed struggle against the U.S.-backed dictatorship.

The Salvadoran CP's critical reassessment of its past political line and practice also meant taking a fresh look at the armed revolutionary organizations that had arisen in El Salvador during the 1970s. The CP's own "reformist traits" had created a political situation in which such organizations were bound to develop, Handal says. While the CP had shown "a great capacity to reach understandings with our neighbors to the right," its reformist approach had blocked it from establishing "relations and stable alliances with our neighbors on the left."

In rectifying its political errors, the Salvadoran CP also cast aside "the old dogmatic conception that the Communist Party is, by definition, 'the Party of the working class,' the 'vanguard of the anti-imperialist struggle and the struggle for socialism,' etc."

Having rid itself of that sectarian notion, the Salvadoran CP was able to unite with the People's Liberation Forces (FPL), the Revolutionary People's Army (ERP), the National Resistance (RN), and the Central American Revolutionary Workers Party (PRTC) to form the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front in October 1980.

Alabama judge forces man to be sterilized

On December 9, a circuit judge in Montgomery, Alabama, was suspended without pay for forcing a man with seven children to get sterilized, threatening him with loss of his house if he didn't comply with this outrageous order.

Freddie Lee Scott, a 42-year-old hospital worker, went ahead and got a vasectomy two days after the judge's threat to take away his house in Scott's pending divorce case.

The real reasons why Bradley lost

Response to Communist Party's view of California election

BY HARRY RING

The Communist Party (CP) is furious over the fact that Los Angeles Mayor Thomas Bradley was defeated in his November bid to become governor of California.

The candidate of the Democratic Party, Bradley would have been the first Black governor of the state. His Republican opponent, George Deukmejian, nosed him out by 51,000 votes out of 7.5 million cast.

The CP, which campaigned for Bradley, directed its rage against the California Peace and Freedom Party. The P&F candidate for governor, Elizabeth Martinez, reportedly polled just under 69,000 votes — enough, the CP charges, to defeat Bradley.

A vitriolic attack on P&F appeared in the November 13 issue of the *People's World*, the west coast weekly reflecting the views of the CP. The article was written by the paper's editor, Carl Bloice.

It was then reprinted in the November 19 issue of the national CP paper, the *Daily World*.

Over the years, the CP has developed a special line of reasoning, and jargon, to justify its long-standing policy of supporting liberal capitalist politicians, mainly Democrats.

After all, it's not seemly for people who present themselves as communists to be urging votes for a party of war, racism, sexism, and class exploitation. So, currently, the CP is arguing for the need to support "anti-Reagan" Democrats, with a special emphasis on supporting Black Democratic nominees. Generally, the CP depicts such nominees as more progressive than other Democrats, and sometimes even as radicals. They even label this "independent political action" on occasion.

That kind of imagery would be difficult in the case of Bradley, who emphasizes that he's a middle-of-the-road Democrat.

That pretty much left the CP with but one argument in his favor. His election as governor would be a first for Blacks.

Five reasons

In his article, "Why Bradley Lost," Carl Bloice offers five reasons, "listed in something approximating an order of importance."

These are: 1) Racism. 2) The Peace and Freedom Party. 3) Dirty tricks by Republicans and Democrats. 4) Incompetence in Bradley's campaign staff. 5) Bradley's "image" — that is the program he campaigned on.

Obviously racism was a factor in Bradley's defeat. It's certainly reasonable to assume that at least 51,000 people voted against him simply because he's Black.

It's also not unreasonable to assume that there's merit to Bloice's charge that the Republicans pulled some racist dirty tricks on Bradley. And, he notes, "some high-level Democratic Party politicians" deliberately sabotaged his campaign.

Nor is it far-fetched to assume there was incompetence in Bradley's staff.

But it's wrong to fault the Peace and Freedom Party for running its own gubernatorial campaign. It was the least P&F could do to justify its existence as an independent party.

We say this without holding any political brief in the Peace and Freedom Party, which we do not consider a working class alternative to the capitalist parties. Our choice in the California gubernatorial race was Mel Mason, the Black liberation fighter and Socialist Workers Party leader who waged an independent race for governor.

(The California Democratic machine registered its belief that Mason represented a meaningful choice by arbitrarily ruling him off the ballot after he filed more than twice the required 100,000 signatures on nominating petitions.)

Bloice's prioritized list of reasons why Bradley lost also needs unscrambling.

What Bloice offers as the least important reason for Bradley's defeat was, in fact, the most decisive. This is what Bloice chooses to describe as the Bradley "image."

Bradley's problem, Bloice advises, was his "failure to convey anything in words that would excite the troops. The dogged

attempt to avoid positions that would anger anyone resulted in a message that turned no one on.

"It's probable that Bradley suffered on the image question in two important areas. One is the exciting and attracting of campaign workers. On the other hand it meant the failure to give some voters, particularly young ones — of all colors — sufficient impetus to go to polls."

In sum, Bloice explains, Bradley got beat because he was too politically conservative.

Actually, there's no reason why Bloice and his party should have been surprised by the character of Bradley's campaign. It was totally consistent with his entire public record.

How could it be otherwise?

A Black man doesn't rise to the rank of lieutenant in the Los Angeles Police Department by being a maverick.

Nor does he enjoy corporate support as mayor of Los Angeles that way.

Or be given the Democratic nomination for governor.

Artful dodger

True enough Bradley is a specialist in ducking issues. It's not that he doesn't have positions on key issues, it's just that he prefers not to unduly emphasize them. Nor is it simply a matter as Bloice suggests, of trying to avoid antagonizing the racists.

No, Bradley's biggest problem was the Black people, the working people, the youth, whose support he was counting on.

He undoubtedly did fail to bring these voters to the polls by ducking issues of concern to them.

But he would have lost even more if he had told them frankly where he really stood on the issues.

For instance, even though he had the endorsement of a number of unions, he obviously didn't generate much enthusiasm among the union ranks.

But would they have been more turned on if he recalled that during his administration as mayor he faced 10 strikes by city workers? That he had played a strikebreaking role against firefighters, welfare workers, and others?

Would he have generated excitement among antinuke activists by emphasizing the fact that he favors the Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant?

Or by making plain to the poor, the sick, and aged his stand that "we've got to cut, trim and squeeze our budget."

And how many progressive-minded workers would have been motivated by his position in favor of the death penalty?

Among the many Blacks who didn't bother to go to the polls for Bradley, how many would have changed their minds by having him recall the thinly veiled attack he had made on the Black Panthers and Malcolm X. In an *Ebony* interview Bradley had demagogically declared: "The fanatics too often believe that change is easy, that it can be accomplished and should be accomplished by force and violence and coercion. . . . I repudiate the slogan, 'By any means necessary.'"

But still, it may be argued, he would have been the first Black governor. Isn't that alone important? Wouldn't it be a gain for Black political representation?

Surely, political representation for Blacks — and all oppressed nationalities — is essential in the fight for emancipation. But the fact that an officeholder happens to be Black does not, in and of itself, mean that representation has been won for the Black community.

The key question is, who controls that officeholder — the community, or their oppressors?

The decisive political fact about a Thomas Bradley is not that he's Black, but that he's a Democrat.

And just as, regardless of color, a cop is a cop, a Democrat is a Democrat is a Democrat. All Democratic politicians, white and nonwhite, are beholden to the business interests that control that party, along with the Republicans.

Even if he wanted to, Bradley as a Democrat could take no meaningful action



Democratic Party candidate for governor Thomas Bradley. Was racism the main reason he wasn't elected?

on behalf of the Black community, or working people in general. His party would not permit it.

That's why in his eight years as mayor of Los Angeles Bradley has refused to act against the racist killer cops in the Los Angeles Police Department even though they are among the most trigger-happy in the country.

Or why he refused to utter a peep in support of the Black community in its fight to stem the racist onslaught against school busing.

But why then do the Democrats even bother nominating a Black?

For one reason, and one reason alone. To give Black people the *illusion* that they can obtain representation within the two-party system.

And the reason they try to create the illusion of Black representation is to thwart the development of a movement of Black people — and all working people — to win the real thing.

Genuine representation cannot be won within the framework of the two-party system but only in an implacable fight against it. It's only when Black and brown people, working people, build their own independent political party, based on the unions, that they will have the means to gain genuine political representation. That will be because then the party and candidates will be controlled by them, not their oppressors and exploiters.

The Communist Party didn't support Bradley for governor because they were naive enough to think that in office he would represent and fight for the interests of the Black community. They supported him because they favor working within the framework of capitalist politics. To do that they had to help promote the illusion that somehow a Black Democrat isn't really a Democrat.

In the case of Thomas Bradley, that proved a difficult assignment.

Journalists win battle over CIA documents from Iran

BY FRED MURPHY

An important civil liberties victory was won December 9 when the FBI and other U.S. agencies conceded defeat in a lawsuit filed by three journalists. Their belongings had been seized by the U.S. government upon their return from Iran in December 1981.

William Worthy, Randy Goodman, and Teresa Taylor had brought back 11 books containing copies of many of the secret U.S. intelligence documents recovered by the Iranian students who took over Washington's embassy in Tehran in November 1979. The documents detailed U.S. imperialism's longstanding intervention in Iran's internal affairs and its attempts to first prevent and then block the development of the Iranian revolution.

Despite the fact that the document books had long been publicly available in Iran, and, as Worthy put it at the time, were "on Iranian paper, printed on an Iranian press, distributed by Iranians," the FBI claimed they were "U.S. government property."

A criminal investigation was launched against the journalists by the FBI. Officials told the press that the Reagan administration was hoping to use the case to establish that any possession or publication of classified material was illegal.

With the aid of the American Civil Liberties Union, the journalists filed suit in January against the FBI, the Customs Service, the State Department, and the CIA. They demanded that the document books and other personal belongings be returned

and that the investigation be halted.

According to the agreement filed in federal court December 9, the four U.S. agencies must pay the plaintiffs \$16,000, return within 45 days all other materials seized along with all photocopies made of them, and file affidavits with the court certifying that all investigative materials relating to the case have been removed from their files and destroyed.

"This was a complete and sweeping victory," William Worthy told the *Militant*. "It was a very malicious and dangerous thing that the FBI attempted to do in this case. They have been completely set back."

This was not the first time that Worthy's right to travel and report on revolutions abroad has come under attack by the U.S. government. In the 1950s he traveled to China as a reporter for the *Baltimore Afro-American*, in violation of an unconstitutional travel ban then in force. The State Department refused to renew his passport upon his return. In the early 1960s, Worthy defied Washington's ban on travel to Cuba and was threatened with prosecution.

Concerning the latest attempt by the FBI to curtail his rights, Worthy told the *Militant*: "If travel abroad is going to subject you to this kind of unreasonable search and seizure — which is forbidden by the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution — then travel becomes restricted to that degree."

According to ACLU attorneys involved in the journalists' successful lawsuit, the precedent set "will weigh heavily in any future cases," Worthy said.

1982 election results: a step forward for Blacks?

Over the last several weeks there have been a number of articles in the Black and radical press on the impact of the Black vote in the November elections. To an article they conclude we made progress because the number of Blacks voting was higher than normal. And they voted Democratic.

For example, Benjamin Hooks, the NAACP's executive director, writes in the November 20 *New York Amsterdam News* that the NAACP "invested" more than \$100,000 to register Blacks and bring them to the polls. He says because of efforts like the NAACP's more than



BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY Malik Miah

90 percent of Black voters cast their ballots for Democrats in 1982, and "scored significant victories." He said we increased our political clout.

How?

Hooks says we helped elect three more members to the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC), raising the total from 18 to 21. And we helped elect a Democrat as governor of Michigan.

Of course, Hooks's views are not that surprising. He's a long-time defender and supporter of the capitalist system and its two-party trickery. He and other traditional Black leaders, along with the top officials of the AFL-CIO and the National Organization for Women, have always rejected the need to politically break with the racist, antilabor, antiwoman Democratic and Republican party politicians.

But it wasn't just labor, women, or Black misleaders who told us that voting Democratic would begin to solve depression-level unemployment and impoverished living conditions. Even some radical newspapers joined the bandwagon. This includes the *Guardian* and the *People's World*, West Coast voice of the Communist Party.

Frank Elam tries to draw a balance sheet of the elections in the November 24 *Guardian*. He says there were positive and negative aspects for Blacks.

The positive, he says, was that we got three more members elected to the "progressive" CBC and more of us voted, especially for Democrats.

The negative aspect was the "anti-Black backlash by white voters" who defeated Los Angeles Mayor Thomas Bradley, a former cop, and Mississippi State Senator Robert Clark.

People's World editor Carl Bloice also argues that deep-seated racism caused Bradley to lose and that this was a setback. Neither Bloice nor Elam explain that Bradley ran as the candidate of a racist party and stood on an anti-Black, antilabor program — supporting the death penalty, the draft, cutbacks, strikebreaking, and so forth.

Had Bradley won, it would have been a defeat for Blacks and other working people — just as it was a defeat that his Republican opponent did get elected.

Why? Because there's nothing progressive about cutbacks, antilabor laws, and police crackdowns just because they're carried out by a Black instead of a white. Working people lose either way. Nor is there anything progressive about more Blacks voting — when they're voting for one of the two racist parties of the employers.

It is *not* that more Blacks voted in a nonpresidential election than usual. That's true.

It is *not* that 90 percent of Blacks voted for Democrats. That's about par.

The main lesson is that Blacks had no candidates to

vote for, except where there were candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, or independent working-class candidates like Mel Mason, who ran for governor of California.

Those Blacks who ran for office in the Democratic and Republican parties were not representing the interests of Blacks, but the interests of the capitalist class.

No matter how "progressive" they sound or how right they vote in Congress, as long as these politicians tell Blacks and other workers to stay in these two parties, to seek change by working in these two parties, they are selling us out. They're diverting the very real political clout we do have as an oppressed nationality.

Blacks are over 14 percent of the country. We are the majority in some major cities and in some industrial unions we are a significant minority. It is these facts that give our nationality a lot of potential power if we can organize and use it in an independent manner against our oppressors.

To be for Black rights and for Black emancipation today means taking a rock-hard stand against the Democrats and Republicans.

We must join together with other workers and win the labor movement to a perspective of breaking with the capitalist parties and building a trade-union-based labor party on a radical pro-Black and prolabor program.

The first modest step in that direction was initiated by Blacks two years ago in Philadelphia with the formation of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP).

NBIPP is a small, still little known party in the Black community. However, it stands on a radical charter that opposes supporting the capitalist parties.

In a future article we'll look at the discussions now taking place in NBIPP about electoral politics and the difficult challenge NBIPP faces in becoming a viable political alternative to the ruling class parties in the Black community.

Utah miner discusses success of publication fund

BY HARRY RING

I first met Agnes Chapa 10 years ago in Austin, Texas. She lived in a nearby Chicano community, went to high school during the day and worked nights at a Dairy Queen. Weekends were devoted to activity in the Young Socialist Alliance, which she had recently joined.

Agnes is now a coal miner in Price, Utah, and a leading member of the Socialist Workers Party and YSA there.

She was in New York recently for a meeting of the SWP's national committee and we talked about the activity of the party in Price and, particularly, about its

exemplary role in the Socialist Publications Fund, which we are now conducting.

The fund is intended to meet the inflation-induced publishing deficits of the *Militant* and its sister publications, *Perspectiva Mundial* and *Intercontinental Press*.

The closing date of the fund is New Year's but we're aiming to reach our \$250,000 goal by December 23 and to exceed it by year's end.

If we achieve this very substantial goal it will be due to the high-level commitment of those like the Price SWPers.

The Price branch of the SWP was

founded shortly after the 1981 contract strike of the United Mine Workers. Price is the headquarters of District 22 of the UMW, covering Utah, Arizona, and Wyoming. In the Price area there are some 5,000 coal miners, although right now about 20 percent of them are laid off, some permanently.

The Price SWP has about a dozen members and, until the layoffs, nine were working in the mines. Now four are laid off.

Despite the layoffs, the Price socialists still expect to contribute about \$6,000 to our publications fund. Agnes explained why and how.

When the fund drive began, she said, everyone was working, "but we knew that was tenuous. We knew we had to get the maximum amount of money while people were still working."

The pledges were substantial. Most of the miners agreed to pay \$750 to the fund. That's one gross paycheck, covering a two-week period.

These substantial contributions were not regarded as an onerous obligation. "Everyone was excited about the fund," Agnes said. "The main reason was the response we were getting to the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* from our co-workers."

Their co-workers, she said, came from many places. Some were laid-off coal miners from the east. Others were *Mexicanos* forced to leave their country because of the economic crisis there. At least one is from Central America and an ardent supporter of the Salvadoran revolution. A good number are Native Americans.

"We were selling about 10 *Militants* and *PMs* a week to co-workers," Agnes said. "Which was good since you don't get to talk to a lot of different people on the job."

"But then during the *Militant-PM* circulation drive, we began canvassing the big trailer courts where a lot of our co-workers live. The housing shortage is so bad that many people have to live in these courts."

"We were selling single issues," she added, "but a lot of people got excited about the paper and wanted to get it regularly, so we sold a pretty good number of subscriptions too."

"We met one miner who has a short-wave radio and listens to Radio Havana, so he knew a lot about what was going on. He was glad to meet us too."

"And then we met two young miners who were from Poland. Both had been miners in Poland and were active in Solidarity. When we told them who we were, they said, 'American socialists! Come on in!' We had a long discussion and



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

Agnes Chapa

they've come to several events.

Another thing that gave the Price socialists a boost was a trip they made to the Kayenta Navajo reservation in Arizona, where there's a big Peabody coal mine.

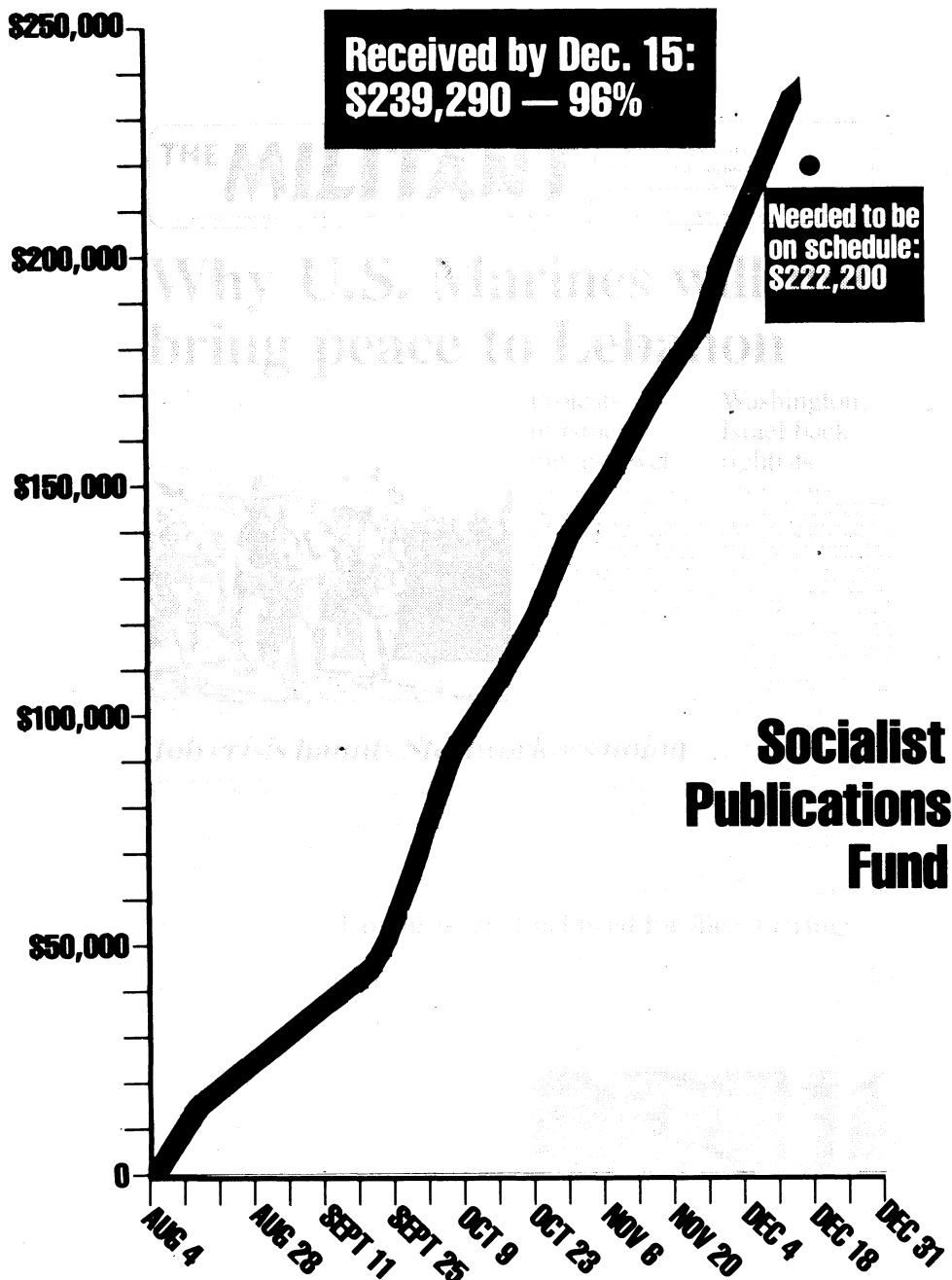
Even though people there are working in the mines, their conditions of life are totally miserable, and they are looking for a way to make changes. Their response to the *Militant* was excellent, Agnes said. A good number bought individual copies and about a dozen bought subscriptions.

All of this, Agnes said, underlined the importance of keeping our publications on a stable financial basis.

Perhaps the experience that underlined this the most, she indicated, was the sales in the trailer courts.

"The first time we went there," she said, "people were polite, but a lot said no. But by the time we went back a second time, the layoffs had hit, and this had a big impact on the community. By now people were very receptive and were asking how they could get subscriptions to make sure they got it regularly."

Agnes was enthused about how well the fund is going nationally. "Originally," she commented, "we were wondering about how hard a push it would take to make it. And now, with the hard times, it's really inspiring to learn that we'll not only come through, but actually go past the goal. That's something to really be proud of."



Enclosed is my contribution of:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Make checks payable to:

**Socialist Publications Fund, 14
Charles Lane, New York, N.Y.**

Xmas tip (I) — If you're stuck for a gift for the family pooch, check out Haute Cuisine in Minneapolis. They offer a gourmet dog biscuit featuring romano

milk, eggs and soy oil. Probably also good for dunking in coffee. A 10-oz. bag, \$7.50.

Xmas gift (II) — A New York dealer suggests rare wines as a hedge against inflation. But, perusing the ad, it struck us they'd also make nice stocking stuffers. Like the Mouton-Rothschild. Twelve bottles, \$2,600.

Principled — A Uruguayan primary election for political party officials resulted in a rout for candidates backed by the military dictatorship. Responded the chief of

the navy: "No one is going to run away just because they have been repudiated by the people."

See, everything's rosy — "BOCA RATON, Fla. — Good cheer and conviviality mark the annual convention here of the nation's brokers and security analysts, who are basking in the bright Florida sun and the glow of prosperity from the richest quarter in their history" — News item.

Theology dep't — Pentagon brass are concerned about the moral problems inherent in the antinuke stand voted by Catholic

bishops. Like, the affect on a Catholic Strategic Air Command officer involved in pushing the button. Seems simple to us. He'll "go forth and sin no more."

No cattle boat — FirstAir, a new coast-to-coast airline, will offer copying machines, stock market reports, a plush dining room and conference rooms that convert into bedrooms. One-way fare, \$1,500. The retired air force general in charge concedes it's not for your bargain-hunting coach travelers. "Obviously those aren't the people who will be interested

in us," he sniffed. "Do you know what it's like in the coach section of a plane? It's a cattle car back there! I tell you, it's really terrible."

Temporal approach — The Vatican denied reports it would build a nuclear shelter to protect its library collection. A spokesman said it would simply be an underground storage area for manuscripts and rare old books. It would be impossible, he explained, to build a nuclear shelter. You'd have to dig too deep and it would be too expensive.



Harry Ring

cheese and garlic mixed with stone ground wheat flour, corn meal,

UAW strikers beat back Chrysler bosses

Continued from front page
for the children's party. They collected \$17,000 in five days. Two Catholic priests sent out letters of support to the community, and Ursuline Sisters donated \$5,000.

Throughout the strike workers at Chrysler plants in Detroit told *Militant* reporters that anything the strikers won would only help the U.S. Chrysler workers. One Jefferson Avenue Assembly worker said, "I had nothing but praise for the Canadian workers. They showed some initiative."

A Black worker at Warren Stamping plant said, "We have no leaders. If they hadn't struck we'd be going through this same song and dance that 'we have no money' in January."

Another Warren Stamping plant worker said, "Of course the Canadians helped us get some more money. It's the squeaky wheel that gets the grease ain't it?"

Fraser himself admitted that the UAW could not have done as well if the Canadian workers had not gone out. Despite this the UAW top layers did nothing to aid the

strikers.

Chrysler tried strike-breaking in the third week of the strike. They moved dies into the Warren and Mack Avenue stamping plants and the Kokomo, Indiana, die-cast plant and began producing parts normally made in Canada. The union leadership was aware of this move, having been warned in advance by the company. They didn't stop the work despite protests by workers in the plants.

"It really kills me to think we might be making scab parts," a Warren Stamping

plant worker told the *Militant* last week.

A Canadian striker explained the U.S. workers' dilemma. "What are they supposed to do? The foreman says run it and the union won't back them up if they say no. They're fired if they refuse a job."

Lee Cain, an executive board member of Local 7 at Jefferson Avenue Assembly plant said, "The workers support the strikers. It's the leadership of the union that's against them."

U.S. Chrysler workers feel their determination to fight was hamstrung by a layer of officials led by Fraser who preached continued sacrifice.

Pat LeBlanc, president of Local 372 at the Trenton Engine plant, put out a call to the international union to withdraw Canadian strike authorization. At a meeting of the local, the membership there unanimously passed a motion to support the strike. LeBlanc cast the sole dissenting vote.

A petition circulated by workers in the plant also disavowed LeBlanc's stance and received 1,100 signatures out of 1,560 workers in the plant.

The members of UAW Local 444 in Windsor, Canada, expressed pride and confidence in themselves at the ratification meeting. They weren't so pleased with the contract as with the way they conducted their strike.

At the time of the settlement many strikers told the *Militant* they were prepared to stay out for months longer to get a decent contract, that the strike was 100 percent solid with no sentiment to go back without a victory.

It was this resolve that forced Chrysler to quickly back off from an insulting 30-cents-an-hour offer that it made on December 7, only three days before the final proposal.

The experience of the past two months has strengthened the membership for the battles to come.

"It looks like you don't get anything out of the company these days without some kind of confrontation," said one striker in Windsor. "And we're ready for the next one next January."

Miskitu Indian exposes U.S. crimes

Continued from front page
tional Lawyers Guild (NLG), the suit has received important coverage in the *New York Times*, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* and the *Philadelphia Daily News*.

Despite U.S. officials limiting Cunningham to only a two-week visa, successful press conferences and public meetings were quickly organized in New York City; Boston; Amherst, Massachusetts; Washington, D.C.; Miami; and Philadelphia.

Seventy people heard Cunningham and Rafael Anglada López, a lawyer with the CCR and a Central Committee member of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, speak at the American Friends Service Committee's international headquarters in Philadelphia.

Chaired by well-known Philadelphia *Daily News* columnist Jack McKinney, the meeting was sponsored by the Asociación Del Istmo Centroamericano Nicaragüense, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, NLG, Socialist Workers Party, Stop the Pentagon/Serve the People, and the Young Socialist Alliance. An estimated \$145 was donated by participants to aid the lawsuit.

Dr. Cunningham was kidnapped, tortured, and repeatedly gang-raped by a band of Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries (called *contras*). They told her that they had base camps in Honduras where they were trained by North Americans.

Emphasizing the point about the U.S. responsibility for the violence, Cunningham recalled that the counterrevolutionaries "said they had been promised more men and were receiving arms, food, and uniforms from North America. Even their cigarettes were from there — they were smoking Camels."

Cunningham clarified for her audience the real situation of Miskitus in Nicaragua, a subject that the U.S. media has created great confusion about. She explained that while some Miskitus have indeed joined with the counterrevolution out of ignorance or fear, many others support the three-year-old Sandinista revolution because of the many gains it has made for the Miskitu people.

Cunningham directed a free public health service for Miskitu people and other workers and farmers in remote northeast Nicaragua, a program that would never have been possible under the rule of former U.S.-backed dictator Somoza.

Ironically enough, most of the 20-man band of terrorists who kidnapped Cunningham were themselves Miskitu Indians, lead by former members of Somoza's hated National Guard. Cunningham pointed out

that counterrevolutionary Miskitus had not hesitated to torture and kill fellow Miskitus loyal to the revolution. This is why the Nicaraguan government organized last year's peaceful relocation of thousands of Miskitus to safer areas away from the Honduran border where they had been living.

To a shocked audience, Cunningham described the atrocities committed against innocent civilians, including children, by the *contras* who claim to be fighting "for freedom." She told of a fellow plaintiff whose husband had his heart cut out by the counterrevolutionaries. Her own ordeal, shared

by a woman co-worker, demonstrated the twisted motives of the U.S.-trained *contras*. "While they were taking turns raping us, they prayed and sang hymns and talked about the evils of communism," she said.

Cunningham came here, she explained, because, "I'm sure most citizens of your country are unaware of their government's actions against my own people." She said, "the Nicaraguan people consider the North American people our allies" and expressed confidence that the U.S. people can indeed put an end to the outrages organized by the U.S. government in their name.

SWP leaders see rise in fightback

Continued from Page 5

who stand in solidarity with them here, that it is vital to mobilize U.S. working people in opposition to Washington's aggression in the region.

Solidarity is needed with each of the peoples in struggle — the Salvadoran and Guatemalan people, the besieged Nicaraguans, the Cubans and Grenadans. But what must be accomplished is the building of a workers movement in solidarity with the entire revolutionary, anti-imperialist process under way there.

Border parley

Agreement on that kind of an approach to building the U.S. solidarity movement was the central feature of the Mexican-U.S. Border Conference in Solidarity With the Salvadoran People.

Held in Tijuana October 30-31, the conference included solidarity activists from the United States and Mexico. Also participating were leading figures in the Salvadoran liberation struggle. The conference resolved to work jointly to build a movement to block U.S. intervention in Central America, with a focus on reaching U.S. workers and oppressed nationalities.

A significant initial step in this direction has been the tristate tour by Alejandro Molina Lara. An exiled Salvadoran union leader, Molina is making a five-week speaking trip through western Pennsylvania, Ohio, and West Virginia, where he has spoken before meetings of mine workers, teachers, clothing workers, and at campus and citywide meetings.

Throughout the tour Molina received the warmest expressions of solidarity from the workers he addressed.

An active role in carrying through this important action was played by SWP unionists and solidarity activists. Their contribution underlined the vital importance of

the progress the SWP has made in becoming a party of socialist workers.

And it also underlined the party's recognition that its responsibility within the workers movement goes beyond the struggles around the immediate, day-to-day issues that working people must wage. To advance its cause and to resolve the crisis of a bankrupt capitalist system, labor must come to realize that it must lead all of the oppressed and exploited in fighting on the broadest social issues and, finally, achieve the abolition of capitalism.

The meeting of the SWP leadership was permeated by the conviction that important moves in this direction lay ahead.

—CALENDAR—

MISSOURI

Kansas City

Chrysler Workers and Steelworkers Lead Fight Against Takebacks. Speaker: Michelle Fields, United Auto Workers Local 31, Young Socialist Alliance; others. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Dec. 19, 8 p.m. 4715-A Troost. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

OHIO

Cincinnati

Defend Affirmative Action in Hiring and Layoffs. Speakers: Art Slater, Executive Director of Cincinnati NAACP; Charles Hummons, Vice-president of Cincinnati Black Firefighters Assoc.; Sarah Gardner, President of Cincinnati Coalition of Black Trade Unionists. Sun., Dec. 19, 7:30 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Benefit Concert. Performer: Farah Juste, recording artist, Haitian woman traditionalist

singer. Sun., Dec. 19, 3-6 p.m. WUST Music Hall, 9th St. and "V" NW. Donation: \$4, \$5, \$6. Ausp: Women's Task Force On Haitian Political Prisoners. For more information call (202) 544-7475.

Native American Political Prisoner Leonard Peltier. Seminar. Sun., Dec. 19, 4 p.m. George Washington Univ., Marvin Center, Rooms 402 and 404, 800 21st St. NE. Ausp: Leonard Peltier Support Group.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Cuba's Internationalist Foreign Policy. Class by Mary-Alice Waters, national chairperson Socialist Workers Party, visited Cuba last spring. Sat., Dec. 18, 2 p.m.

Film: The Moncada Program. Sat., Dec. 18, 8 p.m. Social to follow.

Building a Socialist Society in Cuba. Sun., Dec. 19, 11 a.m. Class by Mary-Alice Waters. Classes translated to Spanish. 4868 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: classes, \$1.50 each; film, \$2. For more information call: Seattle, (206) 723-5330; Portland, (503) 222-7225; Vancouver, B.C. (604) 879-3413.

Amnesty International report on U.S. gov't spying

Proposal for a Commission of Inquiry into the Effect of Domestic Intelligence Activities on Criminal Trials in the United States of America, Amnesty International Publications, 10 Southampton Street, London WC2E 7HF, England, 1981, 141 pp., \$5.95.

BY ERLING SANNES

Amnesty International, a London-based human rights organization with national sections in 41 countries and supporters in an additional 93 countries, has called upon the U.S. government to establish an independent commission of inquiry into the effect of domestic intelligence activities on criminal trials in the United States.

This is not the first time in its 20-year history that Amnesty International has taken up human rights violations in the United States. A report issued in 1963 called

the United States. This report deals with the FBI and the abuses of its Counterintelligence Program (COINTELPRO) in domestic intelligence activities. According to the report "solid ground exists for the inquiry to determine whether official misconduct has led, as the defendants allege in their cases, to wrongful conviction of members of political groups."

All the individual cases mentioned in the Amnesty report have been carefully researched and documented and all involve misconduct by the FBI. The victims of the FBI named in the report were all politically active when legal proceedings were started against them. All allege their prosecution was due to state or federal policies to imprison them because of their political activities. The report documents evidence that establishes the FBI has harassed, infiltrated, or kept under surveillance the political groups to which the individuals belonged.

The report calls for specific investigation into the cases of a former leader of the Black Panther Party, Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt, and a member of the American Indian Movement (AIM) Richard Marshall. They both maintain they were framed by the FBI and were wrongfully convicted.

While spying on AIM, the Bureau's COINTELPRO was, according to evidence in the report, willing to fabricate evidence, and intimidate, threaten, and coerce witnesses to testify against several AIM members. One of the AIM members, Leonard Peltier, is presently serving two life-term sentences for murders he steadfastly maintains he did not commit. One of the government's witnesses in Peltier's trial recanted previous affidavits she had given the FBI agents, claiming the FBI threatened to take

her child from her if she did not sign the affidavits containing false statements against Peltier.

In other cases the FBI withheld information from defendants that should have been disclosed. There is also evidence presented in the report which establishes that the FBI infiltrated the defense teams of those indicted on serious charges.

To establish evidence that there is a pattern of misconduct in the secret police activities, the report details similarities between Elmer Pratt's case and Richard Marshall's. The two cases reveal both were targeted under domestic surveillance before their trial; there is evidence of misconduct by the FBI in handling both cases; the organizations that each of them belonged to were infiltrated by the FBI; and both defendants maintain they were framed and that the motive for their imprisonment was political.

The Amnesty report is not just a historical account of events. It is an accurate, well-documented, and well-researched account of misconduct and illegal tactics used against political activists who are *still in prison* today because they were "targeted for neutralization" as members of groups considered by the FBI to be threats to the security of the United States. Such tactics were carried out because of "the group to which they belonged rather than the likelihood that they would commit or had committed criminal offenses." According to Amnesty, "certain individuals were arrested on every possible charge until they could no longer make bail."

Copies of the report can be obtained from Amnesty's London office or from Amnesty International, Inc., 304 West 58th Street, New York, N.Y. 10019, Tel: (212) 582-4440.

BOOK REVIEW

"Justice in the American South" was on inequality and discrimination in the treatment of Blacks in the American courts.

In 1980 Amnesty called upon its membership around the world to put pressure on the United States to abolish the death penalty. Other Amnesty reports directed at the United States considered ill-treatment of migrant workers and prisoners.

But, the 1981 *Proposal for a Commission of Inquiry into the Effect of Domestic Intelligence Activities in Criminal Trials in the United States of America* goes further than any previous Amnesty report concerning

Calif. march hits gov't complicity with Klan, Nazis

Continued from Page 16

community in Oroville and surrounding areas.

"They are boycotting the march because they couldn't take it over," she explained, "and run things the way they want it, to derail it. But the people of Oroville have taken a stand. Nothing can stop this march and our struggle for justice."

And the community indeed came out.

Black workers, whites, Latinos, Native Americans, a broad cross-section, young and old, marched behind the lead banner, which proclaimed the demands of the march, "We need jobs, housing, education, and recreation now." This was followed by a large banner of the youth of Oroville, saying "Get the Nazis out. We want freedom. No to racism." Other banners read, "Oroville to El Salvador, no to

terrorism."

Archbishop Francis Quinn of the Sacramento Roman Catholic Archdiocese spoke against the boycott by city officials and the local ministerial alliance. "I am here to show the church's affirmation of all races. This is the place the church should be," he said.

The march, which went from downtown through the Black community to Central School, was observed by onlookers, mostly white, from all age groups. The attitudes of the spectators were mixed. Many just came to see what was going to happen and hoped that there was no violence. However many others were excited by it, thought it was good, and some came to the rally.

The highlight of the rally was when a young Latina from Modesto, California, explained that "the Klan says the problem is immigrants, wetbacks, and Blacks. Now we hear a lot of talk about the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill and 'close the borders, close the borders,' but when General Motors, Ford, and other corporations go across the border, taking our jobs and ripping people off, no one says 'close the borders, close the borders.'"

She continued by explaining, "We cannot let Blacks or *Mexicanos* be scapegoated for what is happening in this country. We

cannot allow undocumented workers to be murdered by immigration, and we cannot allow the KKK and other Nazis back into our communities."

There were also speakers from the American Indian Movement, the All People's Congress, the National Black Independent Political Party, and many other groups.

Affirmative action

Continued from Page 4

Karen Newton, a member of Teamsters Local 877, is an oil refinery worker at Exxon in Linden, New Jersey. Blacks were first hired as skilled workers at Exxon in 1967 in the wake of the Newark rebellions. Today, Blacks and women make up a sizable portion of the workforce. Newton pointed out the absolute necessity for the labor movement to support affirmative action, especially in the midst of a recession.

She argued that it is in the immediate interests of all white male workers to support affirmative action. The corporate owners want workers to think that they are fighting each other for a set, predetermined number of jobs. But the number of jobs is determined to a great degree by the strength of the labor movement. As the labor movement is divided by racism and sexism, it is weakened.

Cops arrest 2 in Haitian protest

BY STEPHEN THOMAS

MIAMI — Two political activists, Jack Lieberman and Marty Goodman, were arrested November 28 at a demonstration outside the home of the Haitian consul general, Alexandre Paul. The demonstration was called by leaders of the Haitian community to protest the continuing crackdown on human and political rights in Haiti.

The Haitian consul lives in Coral Gables — a very rich, white suburb of Miami. The Coral Gables city government provided 50 policemen, some in riot gear, and a number of police dogs to guard the consul's residence.

The demonstration was peaceful. But the cops were looking for some reason to

disrupt the protest. Immediately after Lieberman handed a leaflet to a Coral Gables resident he was arrested. No explanation was given to him.

Goodman, showing a *Guardian* press card, asked the police why Lieberman was arrested. He did not receive an answer so he asked again. The cops then arrested Goodman without giving any explanation.

Both Lieberman and Goodman were taken to the police station, charged with disorderly conduct, and held in jail for four hours.

The Committee for Free Speech in Coral Gables has been formed to build support for the activists' case and to fight for the right to demonstrate in Coral Gables.

—IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP—

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 205 18th St. S. Zip: 35233. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 611 E. Indian School. Zip: 85012. Tel: (602) 274-7399. Tucson: SWP, P.O. Box 2585. Zip: 85702. Tel: (602) 622-3880 or 882-4304.

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 46½ Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007. Seaside: Pathfinder Books, 1043A Broadway, Seaside. Zip: 93955. Tel: (408) 394-1855.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 1237 NW 119th St., North Miami. Zip: 33167. Tel: (305) 769-3478.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 504 Flat Shoals Ave. SE. Zip: 30316. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, 555 W. Adams St. Zip: 60606. Tel: (312) 559-9046.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, Activities Desk, Indiana Memorial Union. Zip: 47405.

Gary: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509. Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149.

IOWA: Cedar Falls: YSA, c/o Jim Sprall, 803 W. 11th St. Zip: 50613. Des Moines: YSA, P.O. Box 1165, Zip: 50311.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 809 E. Broadway. Zip: 40204. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322.

MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 112 Chestnut St., Virginia, Minn. 55792. Send mail to P.O. Box 1287. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

NEBRASKA: Lincoln: YSA, P.O. Box 80238. Zip: 68501. Tel: (402) 475-8933.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, YSA, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.

NEW YORK: Capital District (Schenectady): SWP, YSA, 323 State St. Zip: 12305. Tel: (518) 374-1494. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, YSA, 335 Atlantic Ave. Zip: 11201. Tel: (212) 852-7922. New York, Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 226-8445. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 925-1668.

NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 216 E. 6th St., Winston-Salem. Zip: 27101. Tel: (919) 723-3419.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 4945 Pad-dock Rd. Zip: 45237. Tel: (513) 242-7161. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 2230 Superior. Zip: 44114. Tel: (216) 579-9369. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (814) 734-4415. Harrisburg: SWP, YSA, 803 N. 2nd St. Zip: 17102. Tel: (717) 234-5052. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 141 S. Highland Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 362-6767. State College: YSA, P.O. Box 464, Bellefonte. Zip: 16823. Tel: (814) 238-3296.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 261, Annex Station. Zip: 02901.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 2817 Live Oak. Zip: 75204. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 6333 Gulf Freeway, Room 222. Zip: 77023. Tel: (713) 924-4056. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 337 W. Josephine. Zip: 78112. Tel: (512) 736-9218.

UTAH: Price: SWP, YSA, 23 S. Carbon Ave., Suite 19. P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 5412 Jefferson Ave., Zip 23605. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699. Baltimore-Washington District: 2913 Greenmount Ave., Baltimore, Md. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 1584 A Washington St. East. Zip: 25311. Tel: (304) 345-3040. Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

Rulers push death penalty terror

Another victim of capitalism has been legally murdered by the rulers of this country.

On December 7, Charles Brooks became the first Black to be executed since the Supreme Court ruled in 1976 that states could use the death penalty if they chose. Five other victims, all white, have also been executed since 1976.

Killing Brooks was another step by the rulers of this country to expand use of the death penalty as a weapon of their class rule. Its main purpose is to terrorize militant-minded workers, especially Blacks and Latinos.

This dovetails with the reactionary "anti-crime" propaganda of the U.S. government designed to strip away more democratic rights and give a freer hand to the cops, courts, and the political police.

The employers have moved step by step to legitimize the death penalty, seeking to gain acceptance for this barbaric practice.

They opened their drive with the much heralded execution of Gary Gilmore, who was shot to death by a Utah firing squad in 1977. Gilmore was carefully selected because he was white and said he preferred death to the torture of life in prison. The capitalist media played him up as a man who not only "deserved" but "wanted" the death penalty.

Since murdering Gilmore, the rulers have steadily made gains in their drive. In 1976, the Supreme Court overturned its 1972 ruling against capital punishment. Thirty-seven states now have the death penalty.

With the execution of Charles Brooks, the rulers have turned yet another important corner in their offensive to impose the death penalty on American workers. Brooks was Black and, unlike some of the previous death penalty

victims, he proclaimed his innocence and fought against the execution. His legal appeals were never exhausted in the courts.

More than 1,100 people are now on death row, with another 200 being added each month. Although Blacks comprise over 14 percent of the population, 42 percent of those on death row are Black.

Historically the death penalty has been a racist weapon used by the rich. Since the 1930s, 53.5 percent of the 3,865 people executed were Black.

Because of the blatantly racist character of the death penalty, in the media coverage the rulers carefully played down the fact that Brooks was Black. Brooks's case was shrouded in a phony argument about whether it is more humane to murder people by lethal injection and whether it is ethical for doctors to play any role in such an execution.

But in the end the result was the same — the rulers succeeded in legally murdering another victim. As the December 11 *Economist* put it, if the rulers have their way, "Lots more executions can be expected in the new year." The Justice Department estimates there will be as many as three executions a week beginning sometime in 1983.

Just as Washington is compelled to wage wars against working people abroad to protect its profits, for the very same reasons it is compelled to deepen its war against working people here at home. This requires attacking democratic rights and intensifying the repressive apparatus of the state.

Exposing the death penalty for the racist, anti-working class weapon that it really is will be an important first step in confronting this dangerous attack against all working people.

Victory for workers' political rights

Continued from front page

Not so for socialist and communist candidates, or future independent Black and labor candidates who want to break from the two-party set up.

Their contributors lists would wind up in the files of the FBI and other police agencies, as well as on employers' private "security" indexes. Right-wing terrorist outfits also have ready access to such lists, which are public record.

These laws have their origins in the wake of the public outcry against government dirty tricks that were revealed through the Watergate events. Democratic Party liberals, hiding behind the banner of a fight to "clean up" politics, pushed through these disclosure laws as another way to maintain the two-party stranglehold on access to the ballot. They knew full well that the main effect of such laws would be to make it qualitatively harder for so-called minor parties and candidates to exercise their constitutional right to freedom of speech and association.

And it's been those same liberals, through outfits like Common Cause, that have led the reactionary fight to prevent the SWP and others from being exempted from these disclosures.

The Supreme Court decision in the SWP case, which was handed down on December 8, is an affirmation of a previous ruling by a three-judge district court in Ohio.

The SWP has refused to turn over contributors' names and has successfully challenged these laws since their inception. The Supreme Court decided to hear one of these challenges — the case the SWP filed against the Ohio Secretary of State in 1974.

The evidence the court cited to prove that the SWP does have reason to fear harassment of its contributors — and therefore intimidation of potential contributors — was mostly obtained from evidence in the current lawsuit of the SWP against the federal government's decades of spying and harassment.

The court found that "the SWP does not advocate the use of violence." It ruled there is "substantial evidence of both governmental and private hostility toward and harassment of SWP members and supporters." The court cited incidents of "threatening phone calls and hate mail, the burning of SWP literature, the destruction of SWP members' property, police harassment of a party candidate, and the firing of shots at an SWP office."

The court pointed out that there was also evidence that SWP members have been fired from their jobs "because of their party membership." It also upheld the District Court's findings that the FBI, the United States Civil Service Commission, the Army, Navy and Air Force Intelligence, the United States Secret Service, and the Immigration and Naturalization Service all participated in this operation against the SWP.

A key part of the higher court's findings was that this harassment was not just a thing of the past, but a reality of the present and likely to continue in the future. The Ohio Secretary of State had claimed that the evidence of government spying and disruption was "very stale" and that the SWP was able to prove only "a very few isolated instances of harassment directed toward the party and its members" in Ohio.

The Supreme Court rejected that view and declared

that "the evidence suggests that hostility toward the SWP is ingrained and likely to continue."

The court summed up its findings this way: "The First Amendment prohibits a state from compelling disclosures by a minor party that will subject these persons identified to the reasonable probability of threats, harassment or reprisals. Such disclosures would infringe the First Amendment rights of the party and its members and supporters. In light of the substantial evidence of past and present hostility from private persons and government officials against the SWP, Ohio's campaign disclosure requirements cannot be constitutionally applied to the Ohio SWP."

This goes right along with the argumentation in the CP case against forcing the CP to keep records of the names of contributors. In that case the judge concluded that "it is surely reasonable . . . for potential contributors to the Party to expect that the FBI would discover their identity through the use of informants or other investigative techniques, if their names were recorded in records maintained by the [CP Campaign] Committee."

In both cases the court assumes that government harassment and spying is ongoing.

The section of the decision in the SWP case on non-disclosure of campaign contributors was approved unanimously by all nine judges.

A second part of the decision was opposed by three judges, with the minority opinion written by Justice Sandra O'Connor.

This had to do with whether recipients of campaign committee funds had to be publicly identified. The majority ruled no, saying, "Requiring minor parties to disclose the recipients of campaign disbursement" is also a serious threat to First Amendment rights.

"Expenditures by a political party often consist of reimbursements, advances, or wages paid to party members, campaign workers, and supporters, whose activities lie at the very core of the First Amendment. Disbursements may also go to persons who choose to express their support for an unpopular cause by providing services rendered scarce by public hostility and suspicion," wrote Justice Marshall for the majority. "And further, 'Compelled disclosure of the names of such recipients of expenditures could therefore cripple a minor party's ability to operate effectively.'"

The rulings in both the CP and SWP cases are victories for democratic rights which will have a favorable impact on battles that the SWP and other targets of government harassment are involved in — like the fight to prevent deportation of foreign-born political activists; the firing of workers for their political ideas; and the fight against government spying and disruption.

But they represent something else as well. They're a blow to the idea that the government has a right to interfere with the democratic right of working people to organize their own political parties, coalitions, unions, Black organizations, women's rights organizations and any other voluntary political associations that they may want to enter into.

They strengthen the ability of the oppressed and exploited to politically advance their interests against those of the government.

Malcolm X on Blacks and Democratic Party

The following are excerpts from a speech by Malcolm X on April 8, 1964, presented at the New York Militant Forum.

I think that most students of political science agree that it was the 80 percent support that [John] Kennedy got from the Black man in this country that enabled him to sit in the White House. Sat down there four years and the Negro was still in the doghouse. The same ones that we put in the White House have continued to keep us in the doghouse. The Negro can see that he holds the balance of power in this country politically.

It is he who puts in office the one who gets in office. Yet when the Negro helps that person get in office the Negro gets nothing in return. All he gets is a few appointments. A few handpicked, Uncle Tom, handkerchief-

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

head Negroes are given jobs in Washington, D.C. And then those Negroes come back and try and make us think that that administration is going to lead us to the promised land of integration. And the only ones whose problems have been solved have been those handpicked Negroes. A few big Negroes got jobs who didn't even need the jobs. They already were working. But the masses of Black people are still unemployed.

The present administration, the Democratic administration, has been down there for four years. Yet no meaningful legislation has been passed by them that proposes to benefit Black people in this country, despite the fact that in the House they have 257 Democrats and only 177 are Republicans. They control two thirds of the House. In the Senate there are 67 Democrats and only 33 Republicans. The Democrats control two thirds of the government and it is the Negroes who put them in a position to control the government. Yet they give the Negroes nothing in return but a few handouts in the form of appointments that are only used as window-dressing to make it appear that the problem is being solved.

No, something is wrong. And when these Black people wake up and find out for real the trickery and the treachery that has been heaped upon us, you are going to have revolution. And when I say revolution I don't mean that stuff they were talking about last year about "We Shall Overcome." The Democrats get Negro support, yet the Negroes get nothing in return. The Negroes put the Democrats first, yet the Democrats put the Negroes last. And the alibi that the Democrats use — they blame the Dixiecrats.

A Dixiecrat is nothing but a Democrat in disguise. You show me a Dixiecrat and I'll show you a Democrat. And chances are, you show me a Democrat and I'll show you a Dixiecrat. Because Dixie in reality means all that territory south of the Canadian border. There are 16 Senatorial committees that run this government. Of the 16 Senatorial committees that run the government, 10 of them are controlled by chairmen that are from the South. Of the 20 Congressional committees that help run the government, 12 of them are controlled by Southern segregationists.

The Northern Dixiecrat puts all the blame on the Southern Dixiecrat. It's a con game, a giant political con-game. The job of the Northern Democrat is to make the Negro think he is our friend. He is always smiling and wagging his tail and telling us how much he can do for us if we vote for him. But, at the same time he's out in front telling us what he's going to do, behind the door he's in cahoots with the Southern Democrat setting up the machinery to make sure he'll never have to keep his promise.

This is the conspiracy that our people have faced in this country for the past 100 years. And today you have a new generation of Black people who have come on the scene who have become disenchanted with the entire system, who have become disillusioned over the system and who are ready now and willing to do something about it.



'Surviving Layoff': feeble advice from AFL-CIO

BY FRANK FORRESTAL

ST. PAUL, Minn. — The AFL-CIO is advertising a new brochure in labor newspapers across the nation. It is entitled "Surviving Layoff."

Being an unemployed trade unionist, I thought it might be useful to read. So I sent away for a copy.

What the brochure recommends is not very impressive — to put it mildly. The first thing it advises is to find a new job. "But what kind of job?" it asks. "It may be very

AS I SEE IT

different from your old one, but this isn't really unusual. On average, workers change jobs completely three times in their working lives."

Right off, there are a number of sticky problems here. Does the average laid-off worker have a choice on what job he or she can get? The majority of laid-off workers are forced to take any job — that is, if they are lucky enough to find one. After all, isn't the official unemployment rate 10.8 percent?

If you do land a job it will most likely be "different" — probably nonunion, low wages, and part-time. But this isn't "unusual." It is more and more the norm.

This business about workers changing "jobs completely three times in their working lives" is pure moonshine. The problem today is not changing jobs but getting jobs. One out of four workers in this country didn't even work this year.

The brochure proposes that laid-off workers analyze

their skills. Then decide what working conditions you enjoy. "Do you like to work outdoors? Using machinery?" This is fine advice but does it apply to modern-day capitalism?

Can you imagine going to an employer and saying: I prefer not to work with other people. I want a job outdoors away from people. If there are no openings in that area I'd prefer not to work with any chemicals that are hazardous to my health!

More words for the wise. Find out what jobs are in demand by going to your local job service and reading newspaper ads. "Then select ones you might qualify for and enjoy." That's good advice, but I already went to the job service and there are virtually no jobs to "enjoy."

Obviously the AFL-CIO officialdom hasn't made an appearance at a job service recently.

In fact, AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland never punched a time clock in his life. This advice is like fishing in a bathtub.

Or go back to school. "You may decide you need more education or training to qualify for a good job." This is a solution to unemployment?

The brochure offers more counsel. File for unemployment. Budget your needs. Make sure you know where your money is going. "Then set priorities, giving first place to basic necessities — shelter, food, health care."

If you have medical or family hassles contact your AFL-CIO Community Services. Just think: if you have medical problems! As a result of current unemployment, more than 16 million people in this country have lost health insurance coverage.

If you don't have a AFL-CIO Community Service in

your area, the brochure advises that you visit the United Way. This is the same United Way that the ruling class uses as cover for dismantling government social programs. The United Way and its affiliates are antilabor anti-Black and antiwomen. One of its main activities is to lobby for business tax cuts. This is a resource for laid-off workers?

Some financial advice. "If you cannot pay your mortgage or other bills, you may be able to arrange payments suited to your reduced income." Fat chance. Most likely, your home will be foreclosed.

"Talk to your mortgage lender, the utility companies and other creditors before payments get overdue." In the Twin Cities alone some 6,000 homes are without heat and electricity. The fact of the matter is that the utility companies aren't interested in talking. They just want your money. The other fact is even when they are working most working people are behind in their payments. Some 28,000 people in the Twin Cities are two months or more behind in payments.

Above all, the AFL-CIO consoles the laid-off worker. "You may feel depressed, isolated, angry. Most job losers feel this way." But no worry, as a union member you have the support of your union and the AFL-CIO.

The main problem with this brochure is that it doesn't offer a fighting program for jobs. Instead, it puts the onus of unemployment on the unemployed. What's needed is a comprehensive program to aid the jobless.

The unions should be mobilizing their members, employed and unemployed, to fight for jobs. The real road forward has nothing to do with this brochure.

LETTERS

Bilateral freeze

I am writing in response to a letter written by Herbert Ashley in December 10 *Militant*.

In his letter he criticizes the *Militant* for not "critically supporting" the bilateral nuclear freeze movement. He also states that socialists should participate in the movement in order to counterbalance Democratic influence.

I believe Mr. Ashley misses the point on the Democratic Party's participation in the nuclear freeze movement. While the Democrats have shown a willingness to exploit other political movements (e.g. the black liberation and women's movements), the bilateral nuclear freeze proposal seems tailor-made for their purposes. While it allows them to co-opt the antinuclear movement, it commits them to nothing.

A bilateral nuclear freeze bill would not force the U.S. government to freeze production of nuclear weapons. It would only require them to negotiate with the Soviet Union. This is something that Ford, Carter, and Reagan have done. In fact, every president since Truman has given lip service to the idea of "mutually verifiable" nuclear disarmament.

Of course "verification" would require the presence of U.S. "observers" on Soviet nuclear bases. The Soviet Union, needless to say, is somewhat less than enthusiastic about giving the CIA free access to their defense facilities. This Catch-22 makes the proposal attractive to the Democrats, and at the same time totally impotent.

The idea that a bilateral nuclear freeze movement can exist without Democratic or Republican participation is obviously false, since representatives of one or the other of the ruling parties would be required to conduct the negotiations.

Mr. Ashley believes that the bilateral freeze marks a small step in organizing and mobilizing against Washington's war policies. I think it plays right into their hands.

A unilateral freeze proposal, on the other hand, has a much sharper cutting edge. Although it would undoubtedly not get the media attention or ruling-class support that the bilateral freeze has gotten, it has much more potential for forcing the government's hand.

I agree with the *Militant's* position that socialists, while participating in the antinuclear move-

ment should expose the bilateral nuclear freeze for the fraud it is.

Edward LaBonte
Worcester, Massachusetts

Black party

I've been reading the *Militant* for several years now and I am grateful for the prisoners' sub I receive.

Although I do not agree with the strategical political program for socialist revolution inside U.S. borders that the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance hold, I have agreed with a number of tactical programs of the SWP. The major one is the court action the SWP and YSA pursued last year to put the U.S. government and its political spies on trial. And the moves the SWP has made in solidarity with Third World revolutions of late, as well as its support for the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP).

So any sentiments I express are simply political conclusions, not meant to attack your organization or appear ungrateful, but hopefully lend some clarity.

The recent articles appearing in the *Militant* by Malik Miah on the NBIPP and the crisis it is faced with are interesting for a number of reasons.

The NBIPP as a united front effort of the Black bourgeois nationalist intelligentsia is a good idea. The NBIPP as the culmination of and the basis of the independent voice for mass Black independent politics inside U.S. borders is quite a bit premature. I agree with the sentiments of [NBIPP leader] Thad Mathis quoted in your December 3 article: There is a need "to come to a fairly realistic assessment of the party."

There is a shortage of activists within the movement and that probably explains why there is talk within the NBIPP about "divided loyalties." And, too, there is a difference between a radical program and a revolutionary program. To that I say, some invaluable lessons can be learned from the African Peoples Socialist Party (APSP) and its paper, *Burning Spear*.

The thrust of your November 19 article was that the NBIPP had more or less failed to find the heart of the contradictions facing African people here in the United States, in spite of its progressive platform/charter.

The NBIPP failed to develop a "focus" — as the APSP would call it. This is primarily due to the ideological foundation of the leading NBIPP leadership. Of the three leaders represented in your December 3 article (Rev. Ben Chavis, Ron Daniels, and Thad Mathis), Chavis is clearly the revolutionary nationalist. Revolutionary nationalist theory and practice is the primary focus our people need to build an NBIPP and to eventually win a war of national liberation from U.S. colonial-imperialist domination.

You will not find this theory or practice in organizations like the SWP, Communist Workers Party, Communist Party USA, Revolutionary Communist Party or the any number of other multinational-antiracist socialist organizations here in the United States. What upsets me most is that the NBIPP doesn't look to the leading, or one of the leading, revolutionary nationalist organizations in the United States — the APSP.

For the record I am not a member of the APSP. However, in spirit I am a member of all progressive efforts to organize our people for the destruction of U.S. imperialism.

A prisoner
Indiana

Prize fighting

One cannot help but comment on two prize fights in the news recently.

Alexis Arguello, the Nicaraguan boxer, failed in his bid to win the championship in the fourth different weight division of his career. The fight sparked comment in the sports pages on Arguello's self-imposed exile. Nicaragua has banned prize fighting, and so Arguello left the country.

Immediately after Arguello's bout, Korean boxer Duk Koo Kim was killed in the ring at the hands of "Boom Boom" Mancini.

That's why the Nicaraguans correctly banned fighting for money. Boxing is surely a challenging and exciting sport demanding skill, courage, brains, endurance, etc. But it is also the only sport whose purpose is to batter the opponent unconscious. Sometimes, unconscious means dead.

The truth is that this sport ap-



Paul Conrad

peals to everything backward in society. It is a holdover from barbaric spectacles of the past and will one day be wondered at, like Roman gladiatorial contests, as a symbol of the decadence of the culture.

The Nicaraguans have also abolished the death penalty, as well as boxing. They know what kind of society they're building.

On the other hand, they are encouraging an explosion of poetry in every barracks and barrio, demystifying this art, democratizing it.

No wonder the Reagan administration is so intent on civilizing these barbarians.

Mark Schneider
Somerville, Massachusetts

Depression in Detroit

Mayor Coleman Young recently held a news conference to announce that Detroit was entering a "Winter of Crisis." At the conference he announced some figures that show the depths of the depression in this city.

He stated that a three-week investigation showed that as many as 400,000 people in Detroit were dependent on some form of Federal assistance. One third of the city's population suffers from an inadequate diet.

Every week, soup kitchens serve 20,000 people their main form of nourishment. The unemployment rate stands at 25 percent.

All of this in a city that has enough factories to provide a job for everyone and thousands more. General Motors and Ford are doing their part. With a quarter of a million auto workers on the street, they are forcing overtime in the Cadillac and Escort plants here.

John Olmsted
Detroit, Michigan

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Salvadoran labor leader speaks out

Molina Lara on tour to win backing of U.S. labor

BY BILL KALMAN

PITTSBURGH — "We've been denied the peaceful and legal road; our people have no other alternative. In order to achieve peace, freedom, and democracy, we have to engage in a war."

That was how Alejandro Molina Lara described the political situation in El Salvador on WAJR, a Morgantown, West Virginia, radio station.

Molina Lara, a leader of the National Federation of Salvadoran Workers (FENASTRAS) and secretary-general of the Fishing Industry Union (SIP), has just finished the fourth week of a five-week tour of western Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Ohio. The tour is being sponsored by the Central America Mobilization Coalition in Pittsburgh, an affiliate of the Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador.

The Cleveland leg of the tour was sponsored by the Cleveland Central American Committee. Among the activities organized was a citywide meeting for Molina Lara at Cleveland State University.

Following this meeting he was able to meet with a number of garment workers from the Joseph and Feiss Co. who were also members of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU). Many of these workers were Central Americans who had come to the Cleveland citywide meeting on their own initiative. They thought it was important to inform

American workers about the U.S. war drive in Central America and were interested in discussing how to do this.

While in Cleveland, Molina Lara was also invited to attend the first meeting of the Labor Committee on Jobs, Military Spending, and the Environment. He addressed the meeting of over fifty trade unionists, who donated some \$100 to a FENASTRAS fund for imprisoned Salvadoran unionists.

The Morgantown part of his tour was sponsored by the Latin America Solidarity Project (LASP). Molina Lara spoke to a public meeting of forty people at the County Courthouse in Morgantown and addressed a combined class of over fifty juniors and seniors at Morgantown High School.

The audiences at both of these meetings were very receptive, especially the high school students. They were particularly interested in the program of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), the political organization representing the Salvadoran workers and farmers, and its proposals for running the country. Fifteen students signed up to find out more about the activities of LASP.

Molina Lara also spoke to a class of over fifty students at West Virginia University and was a guest on WAJR's morning talk show.

During the show he was asked how

much support he had received from the labor movement in this country.

Molina Lara responded, "Last Thursday, we spoke to the Allegheny County Labor Council. They passed a resolution solidifying with our struggle and demanding freedom for eleven members of the electrical workers union (STECAL) who are imprisoned today. We've also received economic aid. For instance, yesterday the Kirby local of the United Mine Workers [Local 2300] gave us \$300 and the day before the mine workers of the Ellsworth local [Local 1190] voted to give us \$200."

Besides speaking in Morgantown, Molina Lara addressed a meeting of 80 at Fairmont State College, sponsored by the student government. An article on Molina Lara was prominently featured in Fairmont Times.

He also spoke before a special meeting of the Taylor County Education Association, the local chapter of the National Education Association.

Taylor County is predominantly rural, and most of the audience had never had a chance to hear the Salvadoran people's side of the conflict. The president of the Taylor County Education Association opened the meeting by noting that, "Two years ago I was asked about having a meeting on El Salvador and I declined. This time when I was asked, because of the interest by some of our members about what is going on there, I thought it was appropriate."



Militant/Linda Nordquist
Alejandro Molina Lara, leader of the National Federation of Salvadoran Workers.

Calif. march hits gov't complicity with Klan, Nazis

BY HATTIE McCUTCHEON

OROVILLE, Calif. — A militant and inspiring march and rally against the Nazis, Klan, and racism and for jobs and justice took place in Oroville, California, December 11. Demonstrators marched through downtown as hundreds of Oroville residents lined the streets chanting, "We're fired up, we won't take it any more" and "We want a J-O-B so we can E-A-T."

This was the first time that the besieged Black community of 800 in this town of 9,400 has attempted to organize and speak out against the continued racist harassment, intimidation, and violence on the part of the police and organizations such as the Klan and the Nazis.

The particular incident that resulted in this march was the arrest in October of Perry "Red" Wharthan, a local Nazi leader charged with murdering a 17-year-old white youth. Joe Hoover was found with eight bullet holes in the back and head. It is suspected Wharthan killed Hoover for giving the police information on Nazi activities.

Fifteen hundred to 2,000 people took to the streets to say "no" to racism. They came from San Francisco, Oakland, San Jose, Sacramento, and surrounding towns such as Paradise and Chico where the California Nazis are headquartered. People also came from Tucson, Arizona, and Seattle, Washington.

The march was initiated by the Concerned Parents of South Oroville, a group of Black mothers. Many saw this march as simply the beginning. As Denise Johnson, president of the Concerned Parents group, explained, "Racism is deeply entrenched in Oroville in housing, jobs, police abuse, lack of services, and education. It is this institutional racism, open and not so open, that has allowed the Nazis to exist and carry on their activities here after so many years."

Many referred to the march in Oroville as the "Selma" of the 1980s, referring back to the southern civil rights movement. People noted that the Oroville City Council

has been known to use the phrase, "our colored folks" when referring to the local Black community.

The Oroville mayor and other city council members attacked the march a few days before it was scheduled to take place, withdrew their support and encouraged the Oroville community not to participate. The mayor explained that he did not support the march because of "outsiders" and because it was out of his control.

Councilman Norman Roberts referred to the racism in Oroville as "a local problem, something we can handle by ourselves."

Salvador rebels denounce N.Y. assassination

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

NEW YORK — The Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) of El Salvador has called for protests directed to the Reagan administration against what it calls the "political assassination" of Flora "Terry" Santana, who died in a suspicious blaze at her apartment here December 4.

Santana, a 36-year-old Cuban woman, was a well-known activist in this city's Latin America solidarity circles. She had been especially active in opposing U.S. intervention in El Salvador, working with the *ES-Info* press agency.

In a December 13 broadcast monitored here, Radio Venceremos, official voice of the FMLN, said, "The blood-soaked claws of President Reagan have taken the life of Terry Santana." The broadcast called her "a martyr of the solidarity of the North American people with our struggle."

"This political assassination," Radio Venceremos said, "comes on top of other desperate attempts by the Reagan administration to prevent the peoples of the world, and especially the people of the United States, from knowing the truth about the struggle of the Salvadoran people."

Radio Venceremos said that the assassination comes at a time when the solidarity movement in the United States is growing.

Denise Johnson responded, "These are the same tactics that were used to slander and try to sow disunity during the great civil rights marches of the 1960s. Even Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. was called an outsider. Our march is an action initiated, sponsored, and coordinated by the Concerned Parents and local community of Oroville, as it has always been."

"But racism, Nazism, and the Klan are not just local problems. December 11 is in the tradition of all the civil rights marches where people from all over the country came out in support of the people who were

struggling to defend themselves against racist terror.

"The mayor talks about withdrawing his support, but in reality the mayor and the majority of the city council have never indicated any real concern for our legitimate grievances, nor have they made any meaningful attempt to help solve the critical situation for the Black community in Oroville. By stating his open opposition to the December 11 march against racism the Mayor is in fact aiding and abetting the racist forces by trying to intimidate the local

Continued on Page 13

It reported that recently, a large number of U.S. union bodies have passed resolutions against U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

"The assassination of Terry Santana is but another consequence of the policies of the Reagan administration; therefore, we hold the Reagan administration directly responsible for it," the broadcast said.

Radio Venceremos offered a brief biographical sketch of Santana, then reported in detail the circumstances surrounding her death. It pointed out that FBI agents showed up at her apartment within minutes of the blaze, confiscated her political papers — possibly including names and addresses of Salvadoran refugees who could be victimized by the immigration cops — and then claimed to have pulled out of the case, saying they "found nothing suspicious."

For its part, the New York cops refuse to consider the death murder, insisting instead that Santana committed suicide or accidentally set the fire herself.

Radio Venceremos charged that Santana's assassination "was carried out by the secret services of the Reagan administration" and that the official investigation was a cover-up.

"The FMLN calls on the international solidarity movement to denounce this

political assassination," Radio Venceremos said.

More than 200 friends of Terry Santana and people who worked with her politically over the years gathered to pay tribute to her life at the Chapel of the Inter-Church Center in New York City on December 15.

Among those who spoke were Guadalupe González of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador; Glenn Silber, a film maker who produced *El Salvador — Another Vietnam*; Beverly Keene, head of the Inter-Religious Task Force on El Salvador; Fernando Moreno, a reporter for the daily *El Diario-La Prensa* of New York; Arnaldo Alonso of Casa de las Américas; J.J. Johnson, associate editor of the *Daily World*; Father Paul Newpower, a Maryknoll missionary; Bob Ostertag of the U.S. Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador; and others.

González emphasized Santana's key role as coordinator of *ES-Info* in bringing the truth about the Salvadoran struggle for justice to the people of the United States. Others spoke of her work in solidarity with the Puerto Rican people and other liberation struggles in Latin America, and with the Cuban revolution. Santana had also participated in many community struggles in New York City.